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POWER AND WEALTH OF THE UNITED STATES.

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If we take a survey of mankind in ancient or modern times as regards the physical, mechanical and intellectual force of nations, we find nothing to compare with the United States in this present year of 1895. At the same time, we see that the wealth of the American people surpasses that of any other nation, past or present. It may be a subject for legitimate pride, although, perhaps, a profound philosopher would be able to show that it is merely the result of circumstances; indeed, there may not be wanting impartial critics who would go so far as to assert that Americans might have turned to greater advantage the elements at their disposal. Meantime, I venture no further than to lay down the statistical facts, which are undoubtedly of the highest importance in the history of the human race.

The physical and mechanical power which has enabled a community of wood-cutters and farmers to become in less than 100 years the greatest nation in the world, is the aggregate of the strong arms of men and women, aided by horse-power, machinery and steam-power, applied to the useful arts and sciences of every-day life. The power that traces a furrow in the prairie, sows the seed, reaps and threshes the ripe grain; the power that converts wheat into flour, that weaves wool or cotton into textile stuffs and garments; the power that lifts the mineral from the bowels

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of the earth, that forges iron and constructs railroads; the power that builds up towns and cities: in a word, whatever force is directed for the production, conveyance or distribution of the necessaries, comforts or luxuries of life, may be measured at each national census with almost the same precision as that with which the astronomer indicates the distances of the heavenly bodies. The working-power of an able-bodied male adult is three hundred foot-tons daily, that of a horse three thousand, and of steam horse-power four thousand. On this basis we find that the working-power of the United States was at various dates approximately as follows:

	Millions of foot-tons daily.				Foot-tons daily per inhabitant.
Year.	Hand.	Horse.	Steam.	Total.	
1820	753	3,300	240	4,293	446
1840	1,406	12,900	3,040	17,346	1,020
1860	2,895	22,200	14,000	39,095	1,240
1880	4,450	36,600	36,340	77,390	1,545
1895	6,406	55,200	67,700	129,306	1,940

The working-power, or number of foot-tons daily per inhabitant, has almost doubled since 1840, and the absolute effective force of the American people is now more than three times what it was in 1860. Of the three great elements of energy above enumerated that which shows the most rapid growth is steam-power, which consists of three classes, viz.:

	Horse-power of steam.			
	1840.	1860.	1880.	1895.
Fixed	360,000	800,000	2,186,000	3,940,000
Locomotives	200,000	1,800,000	5,700,000	10,800,000
Steamboats	200,000	900,000	1,200,000	2,200,000
Total	760,000	3,500,000	9,086,000	16,940,000

In the above statement, the "fixed" horse-power employed in mines and factories in 1880 is according to the census returns; the same item cannot be precisely ascertained for the other years, but if it existed in proportion to the number of operatives, as may be fairly supposed, it was as shown above. More than three-fourths of the total steam-power of the Union is employed for traction purposes, on railways and in steamboats, which is not surprising when we remember that the area of activity is as vast as Europe, and that the merchandise transported by rail in the United States is shown by official returns to be double the amount of land-carriage (at least by railway) of all the other nations of the earth collectively. If we would compare the energy or work-

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ing-power of the United States with that of other nations, the following table would suffice to show it at a glance :

	Millions of foot-tons daily.				Foot-tons per inhabitant.
	Hand.	Horse.	Steam.	Total.	
United States...	6,406	55,200	67,700	129,306	1,940
Great Britain.	3,210	6,100	46,800	56,110	1,470
Germany.....	4,280	11,500	29,800	45,580	902
France.....	3,380	9,600	21,600	34,580	910
Austria.....	3,410	9,900	9,200	22,510	560
Italy.....	2,570	4,020	4,800	11,390	380
Spain.....	1,540	5,500	3,600	10,640	590

Here we see that the United States possess almost as much energy as Great Britain, Germany and France collectively, and that the ratio falling to each American is more than what two Frenchmen or Germans have at their disposal. Moreover, the military armaments which keep in forced idleness 4,000,000 men in Europe are happily unknown in the United States. It is not merely that European nations are deprived of the labor, skill and exertions of 4,000,000 men in the prime of life; they have also to set apart 1,000,000 workers of the agricultural and industrial classes to feed and clothe the standing armies and defray the cost of artillery, war-vessels, etc. Thus the average of productive energy in France, Germany, England, etc., is much less than appears in the above statement. Again, if we consider the labor-saving appliances in the United States, we see the perfection of agricultural and other machinery. Take, for example, the reaping machine commonly used in the Western States, which will cut and bind grain at the rate of forty-five minutes per acre. On this point it may be well to compare the production of grain and meat in various countries with the number of hands employed in agriculture in 1890 :

	Hands employed.	Tons of		Product per hand.	
		Grain.	Meat.	Grain, bush.	Meat, lbs.
United States.....	8,760,000	76,600,000	4,830,000	350	1,230
United Kingdom.....	2,469,000	7,330,000	1,140,000	119	1,090
France.....	6,910,000	16,900,000	1,200,000	98	350
Germany.....	8,120,000	15,100,000	1,370,000	75	380
Austria.....	10,680,000	17,100,000	1,080,000	64	230
Italy.....	5,400,000	5,300,000	360,000	39	150

An ordinary farm-hand in the United States raises as much grain as three in England, four in France, five in Germany, or six in Austria, which shows what an enormous waste of labor occurs in Europe, because farmers are not possessed of the same mechanical appliances as in the United States. In order to make the comparison of labor more exact, I may be permitted to reduce all farm products to the common denominator of grain,

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by supposing ten pounds of meat or two gallons of wine to be equal to a bushel, and then the account will stand thus:

	Bushels of grain per hand.				
United States	475	France	188	Italy	115
United Kingdom	228	Germany	118	Austria	97

While the above is the general result for the United States, as compared with other countries, Mr. Atkinson in his book on the *Distribution of Products* shows that, in some of the Western States, the labor of one man, during three hundred days in the year, is equivalent to the production of 4,500 bushels of wheat, while the cutting, threshing, milling and conveyance to market represent the annual labor of three other men. Thus four men can produce and deliver to the bakers as much flour as will feed a thousand persons, at twelve ounces of bread daily, for a whole year. In other words, one man can feed two hundred and fifty, whereas in Europe one man feeds only thirty persons. Nor can we hope for a better state of things in Europe soon. So dense is the ignorance of most men, even among the educated classes, that they are convinced that all labor-saving appliances are an evil, and that the more persons there are employed to do any given work the better.

The intellectual power of the Great Republic is in harmony with the industrial and mechanical. The census of 1890 showed that eighty-seven per cent. of the total population over ten years of age could read and write. It may be fearlessly asserted that in the history of the human race no nation ever before possessed 41,000,000 instructed citizens. European states have certainly made efforts to diffuse popular instruction, and with considerable success, but Americans have left them far behind in generous and wise-minded expenditure on education, as may be seen in the following table:

	Annual school expenditure.	Dollars per inhabitant.
United States	$156,000,000	2.40
Great Britain	48,000,000	1.30
France	31,000,000	0.80
Germany	26,000,000	0.50
Austria	12,000,000	0.30
Italy	7,000,000	0.25

The highest European standard is that of Great Britain, but the average American pays twice as much as the Englishman to endow his fellow-countryman with the blessings of popular instruction. From the earliest time Americans have been solicitous

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in this particular. The contemporaries of Washington and Franklin were conscious that "Knowledge is Power," and felt that in building up a nation which was destined before long to take a foremost place in the world, the schoolmaster would have to play the most important part. Hence they spared no pains to make the school system as liberal and efficient as possible, and the results have fully corresponded to the well-directed efforts of each successive generation. We cannot measure intellectual force as we do the horse power of steam engines, but we can compare the Post Office returns with those of the most enlightened nations of Europe, viz.:

Letters, etc., per inhabitant yearly.

United States	110	Germany	53	France	39
Switzerland	74	Belgium	49	Austria	24
Great Britain	60	Holland	40	Italy	16

In this regard the United States are much ahead of all other nations.

If the physical development of the Great Republic in the last seventy years has been stupendous the growth of wealth has been still more marvellous. The results of the census at various periods showed thus:

Census.	Millions of dollars.	Dollars per inhabitant
1820	1,960	205
1840	3,910	230
1860	16,160	514
1880	43,642	870
1890	65,037	1,039

The above table from first to last comprises a span of seventy years, the ordinary length of human life. In the first interval of twenty years the amount of wealth doubled, in the second it quadrupled, but in subsequent years the rate of geometrical progression was much less, although the increase of wealth per head was unprecedented. The following table shows the average annual growth of wealth and the accumulation per head:

	Annual increase.	Dollars per inhabitant.
1821-40	$97,500,000	7.40
1841-60	612,500,000	25.50
1861-80	1,374,100,000	34.30
1881-90	2,139,500,000	37.90

The average annual increment from 1821 to 1890 was nine hundred and one millions of dollars, equal to twenty-nine dollars per head of the mean population over the whole period. Much as critics may cavil at the results of the census of wealth, and say that such figures are efforts of the imagination, we have the

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strongest internal evidence of their correctness. In an essay read by me at Bath before the British Association of Science in September, 1888, the following passage occurred:

"The American census of 1890 will probably show an accumulated wealth of 67,200 millions of dollars (fourteen milliards sterling) in the United States."

The actual result of the census was three per cent. less, namely, 65,037 millions, but the enumerators omitted public lands, for which a valuation of one dollar per acre would bring up the total of national wealth to 66,336 millions, or a fraction over one per cent. less than my estimate. American wealth exceeds that of Great Britain by thirty-five per cent., but the ratio per inhabitant is less. The following table shows approximately the average of wealth to population in various countries:

	Dollars per head.				
United States	1,039	Holland	1,080	Sweden	630
Great Britain	1,260	Belgium	840	Italy	480
France	1,130	Germany	730	Austria	475

It will be seen that in comparison with population the wealth of the United States is by no means wonderful, the ratio per head being surpassed in three countries of Europe, but we must bear in mind that, from the showing of a preceding table, ninety-four cent. of American wealth has been created and accumulated since 1840. The new wealth added during a single generation—that is, in the period of thirty years between 1860 and 1890—was no less than forty-nine milliards of dollars, which sum is one milliard over the total wealth of Great Britain. The accumulation during the decade ending 1890 averaged eleven cents daily per inhabitant, and we have no reason to suppose that it will be less during the current decade. This would mean a daily increment of seven million dollars, and the next census at this rate would show the wealth of the Union to be ninety milliards, or a little more than double what it was in 1880. If we would classify the whole wealth of the Union under two heads, urban and rural, the result at different dates would be as follows:

	Millions.			Percentage of total.	
	Urban.	Rural.	Total.	Urban.	Rural.
1850	3,169	3,967	7,136	44.4	55.6
1860	8,180	7,980	16,160	50.6	49.4
1870	15,155	8,900	24,055	63.0	37.0
1880	31,538	12,104	43,642	72.2	27.8
1890	49,055	15,982	65,037	75.4	24.6

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In the above table rural wealth is the aggregate of the value of lands, cattle, and implements at each census; the rest is urban. We find that rural or agricultural wealth has only quadrupled in forty years, while urban has multiplied sixteenfold. This would seem to point to the conclusion that farming has not been so profitable as commerce, manufactures, banking, railways, and other pursuits. But it is to be observed that in late years the increase of urban population has been much greater than that of rural, and that the number of hands engaged in agriculture is by no means comparable with that of persons engaged in city or town life. The following table shows the increase of wealth per head in the two great classes that make up the American people:

Period.	Number of workers.			Yearly accumulation. Millions of dollars.			Dollars per worker yearly.	
	Urban.	Rural.	Total.	Urban.	Rural.	Total.	Urban.	Rural.
1851-60.....	11,266,000	3,820,000	15,026,000	501	401	902	44.70	105.00
1861-70.....	14,462,000	5,133,000	19,595,000	698	92	790	48.30	17.90
1871-80.....	18,183,000	6,797,000	24,980,000	1,638	320	1,958	90.00	47.10
1881-90.....	23,905,000	8,215,000	32,120,000	1,752	388	2,140	73.30	47.30

Before 1860 the accumulation of wealth for each rural worker was much greater than that corresponding to persons of the urban classes. Between 1860 and 1870 the farming interests, especially in the Southern States, suffered so severely by reason of the war that the increase per head fell below eighteen dollars yearly, but during the last twenty years the increment of rural wealth has been almost uniform at forty-seven dollars per head per annum of the number of rural workers. Looking back to 1870 we find that since that year the accumulation of wealth among urban workers has averaged eighty-two dollars per annum, or seventy-three per cent. more than among rural workers, which suffices to explain the influx of population into towns and cities. The increase of urban wealth has been accompanied by a remarkable rise in wages, as we see from census returns:

Year.	No. of operatives.	Wages paid, Millions.	Dollars per operative.
1860.....	1,311,000	379	289
1870.....	2,054,000	620	302
1880.....	2,733,000	948	347
1890.....	4,713,000	2,283	485

The average of wages has risen sixty per cent. since 1870, and at the same time the accumulation of urban wealth per head has been seventy-six per cent. more than in the period from 1850 to 1870, which shows that the rise in wealth and the increase of wages go almost hand-in-hand. But the farmer has nevertheless

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a corresponding advantage, for his life is a healthier one, the statistics of mortality showing that the death-rate in American cities, especially among children, is greatly in excess of that of rural districts. The farmer may make money more slowly, but he has a safer and less agitated life, and his children grow up around him in affluence and comfort. The census of 1890 showed that the United States had 4,565,000 farmers, the aggregate value of whose farms, cattle and implements summed up 15,982 millions of dollars, giving to each an average fortune of $3,505, most of these men having begun on a capital of a couple of hundred dollars. The number of new farms created since 1860 has been 2,520,000, bringing into cultivation 195,000,000 acres, and the greater part of this work has been done by European settlers. In fact, if the United States had no urban population or industries whatever, the advance of agricultural interests would be enough to claim the admiration of mankind, for it has no parallel in history. The following table shows the value of all agricultural products at various dates:

	Millions of dollars.			Dollars
Year.	Home use.	Exported.	Total.	per worker.
1840	789	93	$882	346
1860	1,803	257	2,060	475
1880	2,686	686	3,372	440
1893	3,089	615	3,704	408

The above table shows that the farm products of the Union represent a value of about $12,000,000 daily; or, if we take the working day at ten hours, it is about $1,200,000 hourly, and, as the number of hands engaged is about 9,070,000, the gross product of their labor is equal to thirteen cents an hour per hand, whereas the ordinary wages of the hands engaged in manufactures are fifteen cents an hour.

Dividing the Union into five great sections* we see the wealth of each as set forth in census returns thus:

	Wealth, millions.				
States.	1850.	1860.	1870.	1880.	1890.
New England	1,129	1,862	3,237	4,978	5,223
Middle	2,256	4,192	9,693	13,748	17,819
Southern	2,591	5,867	2,827	6,448	9,928
Prairie	1,127	3,966	7,642	16,186	25,256
Pacific	33	270	656	2,282	6,811
Total	7,136	16,157	24,055	43,642	65,037

* The Middle States are New York, New Jersey, Pennsylvania, Delaware and Maryland; the Southern are the two Virginias, the two Carolinas, Georgia, Florida, Alabama, Mississippi, Louisiana, Texas, Arkansas, Kentucky, and Tennessee. The Prairie States are Ohio, Illinois, Missouri, Indiana, Iowa, Michigan, Wisconsin, Minnesota, Kansas, Nebraska, and the two Dakotas.

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As regards the year 1870, the above figures are in gold, the currency having been reduced at the rate of eighty cents to the dollar, as recommended by the Census Commissioner. This rule applies to all tables concerning that year. The following table shows the average wealth per inhabitant in the sections alluded to:

	Dollars per Inhabitant.				
States.	1850.	1860.	1870.	1880.	1890.
New England	413	594	925	1,241	1,112
Middle	340	503	984	1,170	1,260
Southern	314	572	250	422	539
Prairie	208	437	588	933	1,130
Pacific	183	439	666	1,285	2,247
Union	308	514	624	870	1,039

The average per head for the whole American people is now more than double what it was in 1860, and in the Pacific States it has quintupled in the interval. If we divide the above period of forty years into two intervals of equal length we find the growth of wealth was as follows:

	Yearly increase, millions dollars.		Dollars yearly per inhabitant.	
States.	1851-70	1871-90	1851-70	1871-90
New England	105	99	34.10	24.50
Middle	372	406	44.70	33.80
Southern	12	355	1 20	23.60
Prairie	326	881	35.80	50.30
Pacific	31	308	52.00	154.20
Union	846	2,049	27 30	41.00

The average accumulation in the second interval has been much lower in New England and the Middle States than in the first, but the reverse is true of the rest of the Union, and the general average for the whole country in the second interval was forty-one dollars per head, or fifty per cent. over the first. The principal components of public wealth are shown in the following table:

	Millions of dollars.			Annual increase, millions.	
	1850.	1870.	1890.	1851-70.	1871-90.
Land	3,272	7,410	13,279	207	293
Cattle, etc	696	1,490	2,703	40	61
Railways	290	1,894	8,686	80	340
Factories	520	1,760	3,059	62	65
Houses	1,380	9,240	21,010	393	588
Sundries	978	2,261	16,300	64	702
Total	7,136	24,055	65,037	846	2,049

The increase of wealth under the item of land is partly owing to a rise in the average value, from twenty-nine dollars per acre in 1850 to thirty-seven dollars in 1890, but far more to the extended area under cultivation, the increase of which has been 245,000,000 acres since 1850. As regards railways, the con-

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struction of new lines has cost a million dollars a day during the last twenty years, and, if some of these lines have proved unfortunate to shareholders, it is nevertheless true that every dollar spent in this way has been a benefit to the country. The freight charge in 1890 averaged ninety-three cents per ton per hundred miles, which is less than half the charge customary in Europe ($1.90), and this implies a saving in this respect alone of $845,000,000 yearly to the American people, or ten per cent. on the original cost of constructing the lines. Another large item in the increment of wealth is houses, which represent an annual investment of twelve dollars per inhabitant of the whole Union during twenty years ending 1890. The annual average in Great Britain is five dollars and a half, and, as economists recognize the outlay on houses to be a gauge of wealth, it appears that the average accumulation in the United States is double what it is in the mother country. In effect, English statisticians estimate the ordinary accumulation in Great Britain at five pounds, say twenty-four dollars, per head, whereas we have seen that the American average is forty-one dollars per head.

In conclusion, I have only to repeat what I said at the commencement, that the United States in 1895 possess by far the greatest productive power in the world; that this power has more than trebled since 1860, rising from thirty-nine to one hundred and twenty-nine milliards of foot-tons daily; that the intellectual progress of the nation is attended to in a more liberal manner than in Europe, and that the accumulation of wealth averages $7,000,000 daily. These simple facts tell us what a wonderful country has sprung up beyond the Atlantic in a single century, and furnish a scathing commentary on the books written by English travellers only fifty years ago. Englishmen of to-day have more correct views, and regard with honest pride and kindly good-will the descendants of the Pilgrim Fathers, while the rest of mankind marks with wonder and admiration the onward march of the Great Republic.

MICHAEL G. MULHALL.

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ENGLAND, VENEZUELA, AND THE MONROE DOCTRINE.

BY SENATOR HENRY CABOT LODGE, OF MASSACHUSETTS.

THE Monroe doctrine has been lately the subject of much discussion and, although it is often stated correctly, there seems to be a good deal of confusion in regard to it, particularly among that small group of persons who are more vocal than numerous, and who dislike it because they have a vague suspicion that it is of value to the United States, and may, in its enforcement, interfere with the interests and purposes of foreign nations, which they are desirous of promoting. The proposition laid down by Mr. Monroe, however, is not complicated. It is merely the corollary of Washington's neutrality policy, which declared that the United States would not meddle with or take part in the affairs of Europe. The Monroe doctrine announced it to be the settled policy of the United States to regard any attempt on the part of any European power to conquer an American state, to seize territory other than that which they then held, or to make any new establishment in either North or South America, as an act of hostility toward the United States, and one not to be permitted.

The Nicaraguan incident, which has justly been attracting public attention, will serve to illustrate the scope and limitations of the Monroe doctrine. The right of England to secure indemnity for injuries to its subjects in no way contravenes the Monroe doctrine. That is a right which every nation must possess and must be prepared to enforce in any part of the world. But if England in seeking this indemnity should undertake to conquer Nicaragua or to hold any of her territory, she would at once contravene the Monroe doctrine, and therefore commit what for

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seventy years American statesmen have always held to be an act of hostility against the United States. In other words, the Monroe doctrine forbids any territorial aggression, whether permanent or nominally temporary, on the American continents by any European power. Some London editor, discussing this subject recently, with the knowledge and moderation characteristic of his class when dealing with American affairs, said that the Monroe doctrine was not a principle of international law and had never been enforced. It is certainly not a principle of international law any more than the independence of the American colonies, when it was first asserted, was a principle of international law. We declared and established that independence and secured for it the recognition of the civilized world. Other nations continue to recognize it, not because it is a principle of international law, but because it is a fact which it is not wholesome to quarrel with.

As to the second statement of the London editor, he is grievously in error. The Monroe doctrine has been observed since its declaration by other nations out of deference to the United States. But one case has arisen hitherto in which an infraction was forcibly and seriously attempted, and then the doctrine was vigorously vindicated. The Emperor of the French undertook to establish an empire with a European emperor in Mexico. We were hampered at the moment by a great civil war, but the dispatch from Mr. Seward which carried to our representatives abroad the news of Lee's surrender, bore also instructions to our Minister in France to notify the French government in diplomatic language that, if the French armies were not withdrawn from Mexico, we would march five hundred thousand men down there if necessary and put them out. General Sheridan, with a strong army, was immediately ordered to the Mexican boundary and the only mistake we made was in not immediately crossing the frontier and expelling the French. Mr. Seward, however, preferred the slower methods of diplomacy, and in the course of two years attained his object completely. The French abandoned Mexico and Maximilian was left to his fate. There can be little doubt that at the time both the French government and the luckless Maximilian were quite aware that the Monroe doctrine was a vital principle, and that it was dangerous to infringe it.

With this exception there has been but one other serious attempt on the part of any European power to break through the

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Monroe doctrine and thereby take action hostile to the United States. This attempt has been made by Great Britain in Venezuela, where she has taken advantage of the situation to covertly disregard the Monroe doctrine, to seize territory, and establish her power in regions where it did not exist at the time the Monroe doctrine was declared. That she should have been permitted to do so without anything but an occasional gentle protest from the United States is not creditable to the administrations of either party in the United States, and is an unfortunate example of the neglect of our foreign affairs which has become almost habitual in this country. The purpose of this article is merely to state briefly what has happened in Venezuela, and to show the steady course of British aggression against a weak power with the view of getting possession of one of the great river systems of South America.

It is, of course, impossible within the space of this article to give more than a bare outline of the facts, but that will be enough to show the policy pursued by England in this important part of South America. The whole region in question belonged originally to Spain by right of discovery. The Dutch established themselves on the Atlantic coast east of the Essequibo river during their war for independence, and at the treaty of Münster in 1648 this Dutch establishment was recognized. Venezuela succeeded to all the rights of Spain, and was recognized as having done so by Spain herself in 1845. Great Britain succeeded to the rights of Holland when, in 1814, that country ceded to her the establishments of Demerara, Essequibo and Berbice. England possesses all the rights and territory possessed by Holland, and Venezuela all those possessed by Spain. No new rights have accrued to either party since they came into possession as the successors, respectively, of Spain and Holland. The settlement of the boundary now must depend on the determination of that which existed between the possessions of Holland and Spain, and should be a matter of arbitration, and settled by historical investigation. Into that question, it is not the purpose of this article to enter, although it seems reasonably clear to any dispassionate inquirer that the river Essequibo was the recognized line of division between the Dutch and Spanish possessions, that the Dutch subsequent to the treaty of Aranjuez in 1791 never succeeded in making any permanent establishment west of the Essequibo, and that the extreme limit of any attempt

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made by the Dutch prior to that time to take additional territory from Spain, did not go beyond the Pomaron and Moroco rivers.

Matters remained in this condition without any dispute about boundaries for many years, and in 1836 the representative of the British Government in Venezuela petitioned the Government of that country for the construction of a lighthouse at Punta Barima, at the mouth of the Orinoco, while in 1841 Venezuelan jurisdiction over Caño Moroco was acknowledged by the court in Demerara. In that same year, however, the first attempt to claim for England what had always been considered Venezuelan territory was made. An English engineer named Schomburgk planted posts and other marks of dominion in Barima and Amacuro, far west of the Essequibo river. Venezuela protested, and England, Lord Aberdeen then being Minister, ordered the removal of the marks set up by Schomburgk, and stated that they were not intended to indicate possession. In 1844 boundary negotiations were opened in England. Venezuela proposed the Essequibo river as a divisional line, and Lord Aberdeen proposed the Moroco river, west of the Essequibo, and stated that Great Britain was disposed to cede all territory between the Moroco and the Amacuro rivers, and made no claim to anything beyond it. Venezuela, however, declined Lord Aberdeen's proposition. In 1850 it was agreed between the two governments that neither should order or sanction any occupation of the territory in dispute. There the matter rested again until 1876, when Venezuela once more opened negotiations, and suggested that they would now accept the Moroco line of Lord Aberdeen. Lord Granville declined this, and proposed a line of his own, which took in a large piece of additional territory on the coast, but followed Lord Aberdeen's line in the interior. This Venezuela declined, and while the negotiations dragged along between 1877 and 1881, the colony of Demerara advanced its settlements, and a British man-of-war appeared at the mouth of the Orinoco with telegraph posts and wire. Venezuela again protested, and invoked the assistance of the United States, and in 1884 Guzman Blanco re-opened negotiations in London. A treaty covering various points was then practically agreed upon, including a provision for arbitration of the boundaries, but a change of Ministry ensued, and Lord Salisbury rejected the arbitration clause. In 1886 Guzman Blanco re-opened the negotiations with

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Lord Rosebery, who had succeeded Lord Salisbury, and Lord Rosebery proposed a new line not so far to the west as Lord Granville's, but coupled with it a demand for the free navigation of the Orinoco, which Venezuela rejected. In 1887 Venezuela again sought arbitration in vain, and, meantime, in the same year, Great Britain took possession of a large tract in the interior, the territory of Yuruari, a rich mining region, to which there had never been the slightest shadow of a claim, the only efforts of the Dutch even to extend their possessions having been made on the coast. Mr. Bayard, then Secretary of State, and whose friendship for England no one can doubt, wrote to Mr. Phelps, the American Minister in London, as follows in regard to this new and extraordinary pretension on the part of Great Britain:

> The claim now stated to have been put forth by the authorities of British Guiana necessarily gives rise to grave disquietude, and creates an apprehension that the territorial claim does not follow historical traditions or evidence, but is apparently indefinite. At no time hitherto does it appear that the district, of which Guacipati is the centre, has been claimed as British territory or that such jurisdiction has ever been asserted over its inhabitants, and if the reported decree of the governor of British Guiana be indeed genuine it is not apparent how any line of railway from Ciudad Bolivar to Guacipati could enter or traverse territory within the control of Great Britain.
>
> If, indeed, it should appear that there is no fixed limit to the British boundary claim, our good disposition to aid in a settlement might not only be defeated, but be obliged to give place to a feeling of grave concern. (Mr. Bayard to Mr. Phelps, 17th of February, 1888.)

There could be no better proof of the absolutely unwarranted character of England's course than such language from Mr. Bayard.

Venezuela, however, unable to procure arbitration, now severed her diplomatic relations with England, although since that time she has continued her endeavors to re-open negotiations, while the British have gone on seizing territory. At the close of 1889 Great Britain took possession of the main mouth of the Orinoco, and declared Barima a British port. In 1890, Lord Salisbury stated that Great Britain would not accept arbitration as to anything east of the Schomburgk line, and put forward a new pretension over territory beyond that line, to which no claim had ever been made before. In 1893, Lord Rosebery offered a new line going far to the West of the line which he had himself formerly proposed. Let me summarize briefly the course of Great

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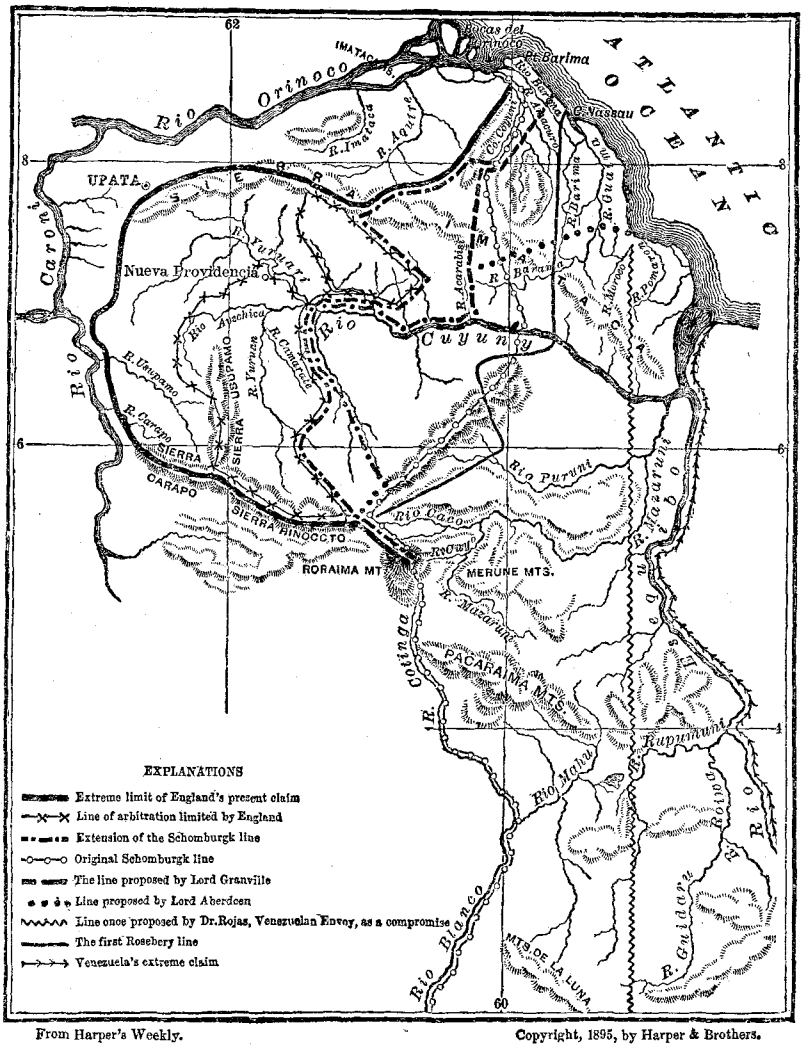
Rio Orinoco
ATLANTIC OCEAN
Nueva Providencia
UPATA
Rio Caroni
Rio Cuyuni
Rio Yuruari
Rio Amacuro
Rio Barima
Rio Aguire
Rio Imataca
Rio Aquire
Rio Aguirre
Rio Acarabisi
Rio Ayanchica
Rio Usupamo
Rio Turesen
Rio Cuyuni
Rio Uaupamo
Rio Carapo
SIERRA USUPAMO
SIERRA CARAPO
SIERRA PINOCCIO
Rio Purumi
Rio Caco
RORAIMA MT
MERUNE MTS.
Rio Mazaruni
Rio Cotinga
Rio Mazaruni
CACARAIMA MTS.
Rio Mahu
Rio Rupununi
Rio Rupununi
Rio Blanco
MTS. DE LA LUNA
R. Guiaqua
Rio
Rio Barima
Rio Guaina
Rio Pomaron
Rio Moroco
Rio Amacuro
Rio Aguire
Rio Barima
Rio Guaina
Rio Pomaron
Rio Moroco
Rio Amacuro

starting point to a distance of 29 miles from the Moroco, in the direction of Punta Barima—Granville's line; thence, in 1886, to a place on the coast west of the Guaima River, between the former spot and Punta Barima—Rosebery's line; in 1890 she set it in the mouth of the Amacuro, west of Punta Barima, on the Orinoco—Salisbury's line; and finally, in 1893, constantly advancing west and south in the interior of the country, she carried the boundary from a point to the west of the Amacuro as far as the source of the Cumano River and the Sierra of Usupamo—Rosebery's new line."

Thus it will be seen that since 1844 England has continually pushed forward the line within which she has declined arbitration, and with each advance she has made an additional claim to more territory about which she would be willing to arbitrate. She has advanced more rapidly of late years than ever before. She has taken large tracts in the interior of Venezuela to which there is not the shadow of a legal right, not even such slight claims as it is possible to offer in regard to the seizures on the coast. She has violated the agreement of 1850, by which both parties promised not to occupy the territory in dispute, an act which in any nation less virtuous than England would be called bad faith, and has thus far seized an area apparently of some 40,000 square miles. She has declined arbitration, which is applicable to a boundary dispute if it can ever be applied, and while declining arbitration she has continued to seize the lands of a weak power by superior force, on the principle that might makes right.

England's motives in her Venezuelan movements are, of course, entirely honorable and disinterested, because England herself admits freely on all occasions that these are her characteristic qualities in dealing with other nations. It is easy also to appreciate England's natural and strong resentment toward a country she has injured as much as she has injured Venezuela. But, at the same time, let England's motives or feelings be what they may, we are concerned for the interests of the United States. The practical result of England's aggressions in Venezuela is plain enough. They are all directed to securing the control of the Orinoco, the great river system of Northern South America, and also of the rich mining district of the Yuruari. All that England has done has been a direct violation of the Monroe doctrine, and she has increased and quickened her aggressions in proportion as the United States have appeared indifferent. The time has come for decisive action. The United States must either maintain the Monroe doctrine and treat its infringement as an act of

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hostility or abandon it. If Great Britain is to be permitted to occupy the ports of Nicaragua and, still worse, take the territory of Venezuela, there is nothing to prevent her taking the whole of Venezuela or any other South American state. If Great Britain can do this with impunity, France and Germany will do it also. These powers have already seized the islands of the Pacific and parcelled out Africa. Great Britain cannot extend her possessions in the East. She has pretty nearly reached the limit of what can be secured in Africa. She is now turning her attention to South America. If the United States are prepared to see South America pass gradually into the hands of Great Britain and other European powers and to be hemmed in by British naval posts and European dependencies, there is, of course, nothing more to be said. But the American people are not ready to abandon the Monroe doctrine, or give up their rightful supremacy in the Western Hemisphere. On the contrary, they are as ready now to fight to maintain both, as they were when they forced the French out of Mexico. They are not now, and never will be willing to have South America, and the islands adjacent to the United States, seized by European powers. They are resolved that the Nicaraguan canal shall be built and absolutely controlled by the United States. It is high time, therefore, that steps should be taken to maintain the policy of Washington and Adams, to which American statesmen of all parties have adhered down to the present time. It is not too late to peacefully but firmly put an end to these territorial aggressions of Great Britain and to enforce the Monroe doctrine so that no other power will be disposed to infringe upon it. But immediate action is necessary. Every day makes the situation worse. In such a case as this, *obsta principiis* is the only safe rule. In the words of Junius "one precedent creates another. They soon accumulate and constitute law. What yesterday was fact, to-day is doctrine." The supremacy of the Monroe doctrine should be established and at once—peaceably if we can, forcibly if we must. It will be the duty and the privilege of the next Congress to see that this is done.

H. C. LODGE.

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A CABLE POST.

THE POSSIBILITIES OF ATLANTIC SUBMARINE COMMUNICATION.

BY J. HENNIKER HEATON, M. P.

Two generations ago a heaven-sent genius took pity on the two great sister-nations of the Anglo-Saxon stock, dwelling isolated and apart, forever sundered by the wide, tempestuous ocean. A slender wire was laid across the depths of the watery abyss, and an end of this wire was placed in the hand of either sister. "Now speak," said their benefactor, "as if you were face to face. Share your joys, sympathize with each other's sorrows; take sweet counsel together; and if, as is the wont of your sex, you talk overmuch and overlong, why, you will be all the better friends."

Why is it that this delightful vision has never been realized? Why has the grand experiment, on which we grown men looked as boys, with breathless interest, proved a miserable failure? Is it because the two peoples, numbering more than 100,000,000 of the same blood and speech, have nothing to say to each other and no desire for more frequent, rapid, and intimate communication? If so, how can we explain the constantly increasing bulk of the mails, side by side with the development of trans-Atlantic trade, and the eager, persistent injunctions laid on the two governments to provide the swiftest mail steamships that money can buy? No; the obvious explanation is that a shilling a word is a prohibitive rate, which can only be borne in the small class of transactions yielding extraordinary profits, or under the pressure of sheer necessity. If a man with a business of moderate dimensions corresponds with London customers by letter, knowing that his wealthy rivals habitually employ the cable for the same

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purpose, it is not because he prefers a week's delay, but because he cannot help himself. On the other hand, capitalists would be glad to have the rate five dollars a word, in order to kill the competition of poorer men. Yet even rich men writhe a little in the grip of the cable companies; and this is why 97 per cent. of the messages are sent in code. The proportion of social messages exchanged between relatives and friends on matters of private concern—only 3 per cent.—is so small as to be hardly worth taking into account at all. The Anglo-American cable tariff helps to accumulate business in the hands of a few operating on a large scale, and to accentuate the inequalities of distribution, while it effectually cuts off all electrical communication between the masses divided by the Atlantic. Electricity has been appropriated by a long-headed "trust," just as whiskey, beer, and other good things have been appropriated. The poor man knows that this subtle force pervades all nature, even to his own body, and that it was intended to be the common heritage of humanity. He hears the long roll of thunder among the hills, he shrinks from the lightning flash, he is exposed to the storm which follows. But if he would avail himself of the marvellous powers of the ubiquitous subject fluid to send a message of life and death, he is promptly reminded that such luxuries are not for the like of him. He may wish to tell his old father that he is one of the few saved from a wreck: "Let the old man wait until he can receive the good news by post."

The Atlantic cables are controlled by a monopoly; that is the evil to be dealt with. Strictly speaking, it is a duopoly, for there are two groups of shareholders interested; but these two maintain a common tariff, and so far as the public is concerned, all the evils of a monopoly exist. Unless competition be independent and unrestricted, its wholesome influence is non-existent. Let me here say, once for all, that I do not presume to censure the sagacious and energetic men of business who have laid the cables, and now work them. Some of these gentlemen—I refer above all to my friend Sir John Pender—have displayed financial and administrative talents of the highest order; and they cannot be blamed for monopolizing electricity, any more than others can be blamed for monopolizing gas and water.

The true culprits are the British and American governments, which have allowed private persons to undertake state responsi-

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bilities, and to intercept benefits that belong to the public at large. "*La propriété c'est le vol,*" said Proudhon. However horrified we may be at such a doctrine, all must admit that in certain cases private property means public loss. Where exclusive possession of a right by an individual means a deprivation of essential or valuable privileges to the entire community, the state should assume the ownership, in trust for the citizens. This view is familiar to the postal authorities of the United States, who have long contended that the inland telegraphs ought to be acquired and worked by the state. The communications of the people ought not to be at the mercy of a calculating director, who will naturally prefer a small number of messages at a high rate to a larger number at a lower rate. For such reasons the postal service in every civilized country is managed by state officials. But in every country the telegraph is superseding the post. The mere fact that an inland transaction can be arranged by telegraph or telephone in an hour, at any distance, as against twenty-four hours by post, causes a corresponding reduction in the time required for carrying out the bargain. Where, as in the case of Anglo-American trade, the arrangement by post takes a fortnight, it is obvious that the bulk of such trade, being conducted by post, is handicapped with a fortnight's delay. We are reminded of a surly squire, whose park divides two villages from each other. A few favored persons are allowed to cross the park, but the rest of the villagers must walk several miles round the jealously guarded demesne, in order to communicate with their neighbors.

Before going any further, let us glance at a few facts and figures bearing upon the question before us. Nominally six companies carry on the trans-Atlantic cable traffic, namely: the Anglo-American Telegraph Company, the Western Union Telegraph Company, the Commercial Cable Company, the Direct United States Cable Company, the American Cable Company, and the Paris and New York Cable Company. Of these, however, the American Telegraph and Cable Company is (according to *Burdett's Intelligence*) leased to the Western Union Telegraph Company, and the Anglo-American Telegraph Company receives 48.825 per cent. of the receipts of four companies, namely: the Direct United States Cable Company, the Paris and New York Cable Company, and the American Telegraph and Cable Company (now leased, as stated, to the Western Union Telegraph

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Company). It is clear, therefore, that competition is practically confined to the Anglo-American Telegraph Company and the Commercial Cable Company, the former of which controls nine cables (five of its own and four of its allies), while the latter has three at its disposal. *Burdett* states that the capital of the Anglo-American Company is £7,000,000 (nominal), and of the Commercial Cable Company £2,000,000. Putting the capital of the other three companies at about a million each, we may take it that the total capital invested is £12,000,000, or $60,000,000.

Reverting to the Anglo-American Company, there are three kinds of shares—the ordinary, preferred, and deferred; and *Burdett* tells us that in 1893 the ordinary-share holders received £2 11s. per cent., the preferred £5 2s. per cent., and the deferred nothing. The report dated July 20th, 1894, gives the receipts for the half-year at £135,390, and the expenses at £55,716, leaving a balance of £79,674, from which, £12,000 being appropriated to the renewal fund (now amounting to £530,000), the residue available for dividend is £67,674.

By the report of the Commercial Cable Company for 1893, as summarized in *The Times*, it appears that

The gross receipts of the company were	$1,842,346
Working expenses	784,600
Net income	$1,057,746
Dividends paid (7 per cent.)	$613,376
	$444,370
Balance applied to pay off remaining debenture bonds	389,600
	$54,770

The number of words sent over the cables between America and England last year was 23,000,000. Of these twenty million were business messages at one shilling per word, and the balance, three millions, were messages at fivepence per word. Deducting some small charges, the total income from Anglo-American cables may be put down at £1,000,000, or five million dollars.

Now, by means of the recent improvements, forty-five words per minute can be sent over one wire, so that the twelve cables might be employed to send in one year no less than 283,824,000 words! It must be remembered, however, that only two of the twelve cables are extensively employed. Indeed, a cable expert of high authority is of opinion that the new cable of the Anglo-American Company, having a weight of 400 pounds of copper to the mile, is of sufficient capacity to carry all the existing traffic.

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The cost of laying a trans-Atlantic cable is said to be about £500,000. If so, the total cost for the twelve working cables, and three which have been abandoned, is about £7,500,000. Yet the capital of a single company is £7,000,000, while for £1,000,000 we might at once lay two cables capable of doing all the work. The interest on £1,000,000 could not exceed £50,000, and the working expenses would be about £80,000; total, £130,000. For which annual expenditure the public might have a service just as good as the present one, for which it pays the companies £1,000,000.

It is of course well known that there is great pressure on the cables at certain hours—just about the time when the street traffic becomes congested opposite the Mansion House; while at night the wires are comparatively idle. Again, the code system must greatly impede and hamper the working of the service. One man is known to have paid £3,000 for a good code. These codes are sometimes over-significant. Thus the word "man" might mean "Readings declined one-tenth," "Penns. rose one-fifth," and "New York Central steady." And again the word "wormlike" means in one code: "The price is 10 shillings; appearing high as compared with your market. We took refusal until to-morrow, and shall buy unless you immediately instruct us to the contrary." This message of twenty-eight words was sent as one word, to the disgust of the shareholders and managers of the cable companies. No code can properly anticipate a social or family message. Such codes as have been prepared are rarely used, for it is difficult to prepare a cut and dried programme of the diversified events of daily life. An attempt was made some years ago to charge double and treble for code words. But the merchants were too clever, and an apparent social message, such as that "John married Eliza," often conveyed the most recent market rates for corn, leather, and cotton goods. I may here compliment the officers and men of the cable companies on their courtesy, capacity, high ability, and intelligence. The accuracy with which they work is simply astonishing. But they cannot please everybody. Some persons are intolerant of the slightest delay. The other day a gentleman made a great disturbance in a London office because he had to wait 20 minutes for a reply from New York. It must be abundantly clear from what has been said that in the charge of one shilling per word the public is paying not only for

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the companies' services, but for their founders' blunders, their miscalculations, and their faulty finance. It is paying for abandoned cables, for superfluous cables, for unnecessary working staff and apparatus. In a word, the public is paying, as already pointed out, a million a year for what could be supplied at £130,000.

I repeat that if it were possible to take a sponge and wipe out our present cable service, we could reconstruct the whole of the present living cables to America for £6,000,000.

It remains to suggest a remedy for the unsatisfactory state of things which we have been reviewing. Here are two nations, the one of 38,000,000, the other of 65,000,000, of the same origin, speaking the same language, and strongly attached to each other. The American imports from the United Kingdom amount to £37,577,682, and the American exports to the United Kingdom are £86,543,150. British immigrants still pour into the States at the rate of 160,000 per annum; and it is no exaggeration to say, therefore, that millions of American citizens are as warmly attached to the one country as to the other. Parents and friends are left in the Old Country; wives, children, and more friends are found in the New World. Yet of the total 100,000,000 people, only one in ten cables one word a year.

I say it is high time to change all this; to recognize that since the first cable was laid the Atlantic no longer exists. What I propose is that the British and American governments should jointly acquire the property and rights of the existing cable companies, at a fair valuation, and establish a common state monopoly in cable communication. They should then establish a tariff of one penny per word; and the result would be a prodigious development of trade, and an immense increase in the happiness of the masses. It is by no means impossible that ultimately the tariff might be still further lowered, down in fact to the lowest remunerative point. For governments have no right to make a profit out of the communications of the people.

This programme is by no means a visionary one. For no appreciable increase of expenditure accompanies the augmentation of the traffic over a wire, which is almost pure profit. If the traffic increased twelve times under a penny tariff, the revenue would be the same as at present; but the state would be satisfied with less than half the revenue of the companies. In fact it

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would be perfectly feasible to telegraph the whole of the letters now exchanged between the two countries, for the sum which is now paid to the mail-steamship companies.

Meanwhile, I may invite the Anglo-American Company to make a grand experiment. It should institute a Sunday or nightly service at a penny per word for purely social messages, the use of codes being strictly forbidden. I have little doubt that a profit of £50,000 a year would at once be realized.

I appeal to men of business, on both sides of the Atlantic, to take up this question, as one in which the immediate future of commerce is bound up, and to insist, first, that the two governments shall do their duty by performing the work, and secondly, that the tariff shall be no more than sufficient to meet expenditure. A profit on cablegrams, telegrams, or letters is as noxious and indefensible as a tax on books or newspapers, or on conversations with one's friends and customers. We might as well levy tithes on seed corn, or exact a duty whenever a traveller calls for orders. The initial operations of trade, which may or may not lead to profitable results, should be encouraged and facilitated, for every individual in every class of society is directly or indirectly interested in their success. Taxation should be collected on profits, not on tools; not on the negotiations that are intended to create profitable work. I call upon British and American statesmen to seize this golden opportunity of benefiting the two peoples, and adding the precious birthright of cheap and instantaneous intercourse to the privileges already distinguishing the Anglo-Saxon race. This is no scientific problem or financial adventure. The wires exist, the staff is in perfect training; and at a week's notice the people of the United Kingdom and the United States may be in constant electrical communication on questions of business or on private affairs; the letter post being reserved for the transmission of formal documents. And this wonderful transformation would be effected with a positive saving to the taxpayers.

Finally I turn to the one man who has it in his power to advance this scheme more than all other public men put together—I mean Sir John Pender. Sir John is the brain of cabling enterprise, not only in the Atlantic, but all over the world. He has gathered up the electric threads, throbbing with the fate of individuals and nations, as an old coachman gathers up the reins of

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his team. He is the Cable King. He has acquired a universal monopoly in submarine telegraphy for the companies with which he is connected. He is chairman of the Eastern Telegraph Company, which, with its allies and satellites, such as the Indo-European, the Great Northern, the Eastern Extension, and the South African Companies, engrosses all the traffic of Egypt, India, the East, Australia, and Africa. In the same way he has helped to form this alliance of four trans-Atlantic companies, which "pool" their profits, and defeat all efforts to reduce the tariff. When his one rival, the Commercial Cable Company, was formed, the rates went down from one shilling and eightpence to sixpence, and the traffic increased 727 per cent. But Sir John has worked the charge up again to a minimum of one shilling per word, and there he would fain maintain it. But he must be aware that this scandal of idle wires and prohibitive charges cannot last forever. He is exposed at any moment to competition such as has just been called into existence in the Pacific. I suggest to him to be wise in time, to accept a fair compensation for his shareholders (some of whom receive nothing), and to support with all his unmatched experience and ability the proposal here brought forward. He has had a long and splendid career, in the course of which he has conferred splendid advantages on the commerce of the world. Let him crown the work by doing something for the millions who can never pay high tariffs, but who none the less long for the means of communicating in a moment with those who are dear to them. If he should listen to this appeal and link the hearts, and not merely the pockets, of the two peoples with an electric chain, he will have accomplished a miracle in the Atlantic almost recalling that witnessed in the Red Sea when, as Moses stretched forth his hand, the angry waters were rolled back and were a wall unto the Israelites on their right hand and on their left.

I may summarize the policy put forward in this article by quoting the terms of a resolution which stands in my name on the Order-Book of the British House of Commons:

> That freedom of communication by cable is one of the most vital interests of the Empire, and, as such, ought not to be dependent on the policy of private companies; that it is in the highest degree expedient to encourage, cheapen, and facilitate communication by means of the electric cable between the several portions of the Empire; that the rates charged by the cable companies for the transmission of messages are, generally speaking,

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excessive, and, in some cases, prohibitive; that, it being advisable at all costs to put an immediate end to cable monopolies, the British Government (or the Home and Colonial governments jointly) ought forthwith, in the interests of the Empire, to acquire, at a fair price, the rights, plant (and other property, if any) of the existing cable companies; that the price paid should not exceed the market value of the cable companies' shares on the date of the appearance of this proposed resolution in the paper; and that the state (or the Imperial Cable Administration), when possessed of the cables, should aim at no profit on the transmission of cablegrams, but should charge rates low enough to allow of the despatch of the largest possible number of messages, after providing for the cost of maintaining the cables and the service generally in an efficient condition, the cost of any extension of the cable not being met by a further investment of state funds."

It is a significant fact that the action of the British and French governments in buying the Submarine Cable Company's wires across the British Channel proved highly profitable and advantageous to both countries.

J. HENNIKER HEATON.

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CAN WEST POINT BE MADE MORE USEFUL?

BY GENERAL JOHN GIBBON, U. S. A.

In some respects the Military Academy at West Point has remained as it was fifty years ago, but in others it has undergone very radical changes. During these fifty years the course of studies has been very considerably expanded; the number of professors and instructors augmented; the scientific apparatus improved, and the number of cadets increased with the growth of the country. Yet the Academy is the same in so far that a uniform class of students change the gray of the cadet for the army blue, "to grow gray as captains or lieutenants."

The most radical change which has taken place in the Academy during these fifty odd years relates to the standard established for entrance. The qualifications required by law, with some few additions, remain about as they have always been, but had the Academic Board interpreted the law fifty odd years ago as it is interpreted and enforced to-day, many of our most distinguished generals could never have passed the portals of the institution. The objection to the present system of examination for entrance to the Academy is, that it bars out from the military profession one-third of all the boys appointed, before giving them the slightest opportunity of showing whether or not they possess any soldierly qualities. This is not only bad policy, but it is bad tactics for the welfare of the country and unjust in its discrimination against certain sections, when the clear intention of the law is to be impartial. Fifty odd years ago, had the bars to the entrance of the Military Academy been as rigid as they are now, the country never could have had the services of a Grant, a Sheridan or a Hancock!

The rules governing matters of this kind have a tendency to become more and more rigid, but the military class in this coun-

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try, and probably a good many more, were considerably startled by the announcement that a grandson of Hancock had just been rejected for being two pounds under the standard weight! In architecture, it may be a good rule that a building of a certain width should have a specific height, but a rule which demands that an embryo warrior of a specific height and age must weigh a given number of pounds, is as likely to rule out a Napoleon as a blockhead, on a feature, too, so apt soon to be remedied by government rations.

There should be no examination whatever (except a physical one), for entrance to the Academy, and the test as to whether or not the appointees have any qualifications as soldiers should be applied at the end of six months, when an opportunity could be afforded the Academic Board to judge understandingly of the character and aptitude of each for the military profession.

One of the principal characteristics (if not the main one) of graduates of the Military Academy is their soldierly bearing and conduct, and the tendency of the whole course at West Point is toward the production of these characteristics. Considering the results of the West Point education and the character of its real founder, Colonel Thayer, it is not presuming too much to say that the intention originally in founding the Military Academy was to make "soldiers." The country to-day recognizes that in this the Academy has been a success. Although many graduates have distinguished themselves in other walks of life, all will admit that the Military Academy is most distinguished for her "soldiers" and her very creditable list of "generals." Of the few who showed genius in war, we have every reason to feel proud, and the country seems measurably well satisfied with the soldierly qualities displayed by the mass of her graduates, both during the Mexican War and the great War of the Rebellion. But in the struggle for this endorsement by the people, great obstacles had to be encountered, and the day was finally won by the frank and soldierly testimony of the American Volunteer.

In the only foreign war we have had since the graduates existed in any number, they, and indeed the whole regular army, played an entirely subordinate part, nearly all the prominent officers, with the exception of the two leaders, Scott and Taylor, being appointed from civil life; but it is well to note that in

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most cases these officers from civil life surrounded themselves with graduates and other officers of the regular establishment by appointing them on their staffs, and that both the great leaders, Scott and Taylor, gave full credit to these subordinates for their valuable services in the war. How highly General Scott prized the services of the graduates in Mexico is shown by a letter, dated July 25, 1860, in which he says :

"I give it as my fixed opinion that but for our graduated cadets, the war between the United States and Mexico might, and probably would, have lasted some four or five years, with, in the first half, more defeats than victories falling to our share ; whereas in less than two campaigns, we conquered a great country and a peace without the loss of a single battle or skirmish."

This testimony from the great soldier (a non-graduate) whose campaign in Mexico was so eminently successful, did not serve to change the policy of the authorities, for when the civil war burst upon us in all its huge proportions, and volunteers were flocking to the aid of the Government by thousands, it was still adhered to, and commanders were appointed who were as ignorant of military matters as the volunteers themselves, sometimes more so, for some of the volunteer regiments could drill and go through the manual—an important though minor element in the science of war.

On the opening of the war there was no immediate demand for graduates, and with some few individual exceptions they were not appointed to as prominent positions as colonels of regiments. When the war had actually begun, and it became apparent that it was a very serious matter, demanding not only professional knowledge but some preparation, every community in the land commenced looking for people who could give the command "Shoulder arms !" and knew whether it was properly executed or not. This, of course, was not true where there were well drilled militia regiments, but in numerous other places that hunt went on.

The success of professional military men was largely due to the quick-witted, intelligent observation of the American soldier, who did not fail to notice the immense superiority, in every way, of the well drilled, disciplined regiment over the rabble in the adjoining camps, and after once going into action all doubt in regard to the advantages of discipline and drill vanished, and then all sensible men yearned for the same kind of training that

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they might be made perfect. Thus did the few regiments disciplined under regular officers leaven the whole batch. The masses, however, knew little of the struggles by which this efficiency was gained. Many a poor fellow, smarting under the galling restraints of discipline and madly raging against arbitrary rules, the objects of which he did not see, had sworn in his heart that in the first battle he would wreak dire vengeance against the ruthless tyrant placed over his head. But when he went into battle and discovered that that "tyrant" was his savior, and that now every rule and restraint, inexplicable before, was enforced with an object and a purpose, his resentments all vanished and he became henceforth a "regular" amongst "regulars."

Americans are an intensely practical people, and when, during the first year of the war, those of them who were in the field had opportunities to observe the effect produced on raw troops by such men as Kearney with New Jersey volunteers; McCall, Reynolds, Meade and Ord with those from Pennsylvania; Smith and Brooks with Vermont men; Dana and Sully with those from Minnesota, and Gordon with Massachusetts men, they soon began to appreciate the fact that a knowledge of military affairs was a good thing to have, and they preferred "military" men for military purposes, just as they have preferred the operation of a skillful surgeon in amputating a leg to that of an amateur with broad-axe and hand-saw.

From that time the military element took the ascendant and held it, and in numerous instances the men themselves besought the governors of States to appoint military men to command them. In this way the volunteers themselves decided in favor of West Point and its system as the best school for war. The country itself fully endorsed this approval, and now the question is a very pertinent one: "How can this institution which has demonstrated its usefulness in times of war, be made, in a time of profound peace, more useful still to meet the contingencies of future wars?" The general answer is: "By extending the influence of West Point education in such a way as to leaven the military element in the country, so that, in the event of war, our forces shall be in a better state of preparation to take the field than they have ever been in before." How best to do that is the practical question before us.

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General Scott, in the letter from which I have already quoted, recognizing the fact of the unjust discrimination against boys sent from the sparsely settled districts, whose opportunities for schooling were so few, made a recommendation which he prefaced by saying:

"The many rejections at the first examination and the still greater number of failures after admission, clearly referable to bad habits contracted at home—the result of defective family discipline, so common throughout our country—have long spread so general a prejudice against the Academy, that it would certainly, by this time, have been altogether abolished but for the admiration won by graduates in the Mexican war. *That generous and patriotic feeling*, however, is not likely to *survive the present generation*; hence the necessity of finding some means of preventing or diminishing the annual growth of the popular prejudice in question."

He, therefore, proposed "a preparatory school in the Academy—a fifth class with a lower standard of preparatory knowledge, together with admission at an earlier age (say fourteen)." This recommendation was never acted upon. A short time, before, a five years' course had been adopted, but the entrance class was not devoted to preparatory studies, the entrance age was not reduced, and the standard of admission, far from being lowered, was raised. It has been rising ever since.

The five years' course was soon abandoned, and the high standard for admission has since been adhered to.

General Scott's prediction in regard to abolishing the Academy in accordance with the popular prejudice against it, would in all probability have been fulfilled, but for the interposition of the civil war, and the verdict of our people in favor of West Point as a preparatory school for war. "The admiration won by graduates in the (Civil) War" may stave off the doom of the Academy for a time, but no system which rejects one-third of all the applicants for admission before they have had any chance to show whether or not they can be moulded into soldiers can very long withstand a popular verdict of disapproval. The simple remedy is to have no mental examination at all before entrance, and to let the test come six months (or preferably a year) after entrance. This would possess the advantage over a year of preparatory schooling, of requiring no diminution of age or standard, and would allow boys with defective education and possessed with the requisite energy and push to assert themselves. The education, drill and discipline, bestowed in these six or twelve months at the

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Academy, would not be thrown away upon those who failed to pass the examinations, for they would carry back to the people important information which would be valuable in case of war, as was abundantly shown in the rebellion.

If a thing is good, it may be made better. If West Point education is beneficial to the country, then the more it is extended within proper limits the better, and an increase of the number of yearly graduates is desirable. By restoring the right of the President to appoint ten each year, and bestowing the right to nominate one cadet upon each United States senator, the number would be increased about one hundred per year for four years, and the number of graduates after that would be proportionately greater.

The West Point course of four years' education is complete and well rounded out at the end of the term as preparatory to a military career. Cut short at any point, defects would be left, not easily remedied in after years. One year's course at the Academy would simply set a boy up in the school of the soldier, drill and discipline, and instruct him in the lower grades of a common school education; a second year would improve his drill, add somewhat to his discipline and to his mental acquirements. A third year would add drawing and the higher mathematics, the duties of a non-commissioned officer, drill in cavalry and artillery, and some knowledge of ordnance matters. Whilst the fourth year would give him practice in the duties of a commissioned officer, experience in drill as a commander of artillery, infantry, and cavalry, and instruction in the application of mathematics, and the details of civil and military engineering, etc., etc.

The cadet's education when he graduates is by no means completed. He has simply laid a good foundation for that military education which he is to perfect in the army. To omit any one of his four years' course at the Academy would therefore be akin to leaving out of a piece of machinery one of the important wheels. Hence I do not think it would be advisable to adopt Mr. Mitchel's * suggestion for the partial education of more cadets, to be used after they leave the Academy in the instruction of the State militia. The cadet on graduation can scarcely be regarded as being adequately equipped as an instructor. He has just escaped pupilage himself, with a very limited knowledge of the outside world. He

* NORTH AMERICAN REVIEW, July, 1894.

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needs just the experience he will get in the army in contact with age and experience to fit him for the important position of instructor, where he will be frequently called upon to instruct men much older than himself. Hence it would be preferable to graduate (in full) a larger number and put them in the army to complete their education and perform the duties of those older officers, whose more mature services could be made use of elsewhere.

Army officers are now being used quite extensively in disseminating military information and instruction throughout the country. A large number are engaged in giving instruction in various colleges, and every season numbers of them are detailed for duty with the militia of the different States, both for the purpose of drill and inspection. So great a draft, in fact, is made on the army for these and other purposes that the number of officers serving with troops is reduced to a very low ebb, although seventy companies in the regular establishment have been practically disbanded. Let the young graduates fill the void thus made, perform service with troops, and thus enable still more of the older officers to be detached for service with the State militia.

It is a matter of the first importance that there should be a cordial and sympathetic bond between the regular service of the United States and the State troops. Wherever there has been an opportunity to bring the two together, this bond already exists, and it is desirable to continue it, foster it and extend its influence. This can be done by still further extending the detail of regular officers for service with State troops. For such a purpose the authorities of the United States and of the various States should be in accord. Probably the simplest way to bring this about would be for Congress to enact a law, giving authority to detail such number of officers as could be spared from active service for duty with the State militia for periods of not less than four years, unless otherwise specially directed. These details should be made in accordance with the requests of State governors, who, as a rule, would apply for officers from their own States, and thus start the system under the most favorable auspices.

It has often been remarked in the army that officers who leave the service and go into private life are sure to return to it, on the occurrence of war, with rank far above that of the officers left

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behind amongst the regulars. Jefferson Davis, Clay, Stevens, McClellan, Burnside, Sherman, Grant, Mitchel, Slocum, Rosecrans and McCall are prominent examples of this, and there are numerous others. The reason for this is plain. The regular officer, cut off very much as he is by the peculiarities of our service from contact with his fellow citizens, loses that touch so easily kept up by the officer in civil life, and when the opportunity occurs he is just in the position to meet the want demanded by the community. It is this touch with civil life which it is intended to keep up by the plan I propose. The governors of States, having secured the services of a number of officers by details for a series of years, would be enabled to appoint them to positions in the State militia, the older ones as field officers of regiments, the younger ones on the staff, and the influence of all would be speedily felt in the State organization.

At the commencement of the Civil War the prejudice against the Academy, so deplored by General Scott in his letter, from which I have already quoted, was increased in the popular mind by the fact that at a time of great civil turmoil and excitement when, in all the other walks of life, people were severing their connection with the government, some of her graduates were seen to leave the service and, in the political phraseology of the times, "go with their States," and it was loudly proclaimed that West Point fostered disloyalty to the government which educated its pupils for her military service. But this feeling was in a great measure swept aside when the country came to recognize the services of her graduated cadets, and to realize the fact that a West Point education actually kept loyal one-half of the southern graduates; that four-fifths of all graduates remained loyal to the government; that one-fifth of those engaged laid down their lives in the war, whilst between one-third and one-half were wounded.*

It was a Southern graduate who, amidst doubt and perplexity, and when there was uncertainty and wavering in the highest officials, shifted his little garrison from Moultrie to Sumter and defended his flag to the last. It was a Southern graduate who, in far off New Mexico, having received a letter from his father disowning him for not resigning and coming home to join his State in rebellion,

* Politics does not constitute any part of West Point education, though constitutional law is taught there, and although the whole tendency of the instruction is to ignore partisan politics it cannot be expected that a few years course can entirely obliterate the teachings of early life amidst a community where peculiar political ideas have existed for generations.

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went into battle, fought his battery until all his gunners were shot down and then, in face of the coming charge of rebels, coolly seated himself upon the trail of his gun, drew his revolver and fired it until he was shot down. It was a Southern graduate* who, down in Texas, commanding a little post of one company, replied to a rebel summons to surrender, that he had been placed in charge of that post by his government and he would surrender it to no one unless by its order. It was a Southern graduate who, with his gallant division, so bravely resisted the advance of Early's troops at Cedar Creek as to enable Sheridan, when he reached the field, to rally his army on this division, turn the tide of battle, and win a great victory. In the mad whirl of secession there were two graduates from Mississippi who remained true to the flag under which they were raised. One of them, at the head of a cavalry force, cut his way out of Harper's Ferry, and joined McClellan's army at Antietam. He afterwards fell leading a charge at Beverly Ford. The other laid down his young life gallantly defending Knoxville, Tenn., against his own people. The "Rock of Chickamauga" was a Southern graduate.

An institution with this record need not fear to look the world in the face, nor will the country long harbor the remembrance that in the mad whirl of political revolution some of her pupils were torn loose from those teachings which it will be well to disseminate more and more.

JOHN GIBBON.

* This graduate shortly afterwards resigned and joined the Rebellion.

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GLIMPSES OF CHARLES DICKENS.

BY CHARLES DICKENS THE YOUNGER.

II.

FROM a very early period of his career the idea of reading his books aloud was very familiar to my father, and as far back as the year 1844 he read "*The Chimes*" to a specially distinguished audience of men of letters and artists in Mr. Forster's room, at Lincoln's Inn Fields, running over from Genoa for the purpose. Readings of the portion of the book which might at the time be in progress we often had at home, and it was only two years after "*The Chimes*" reading that, writing from Lausanne to Mr. Forster, he said: "I was thinking the other day that, in these days of lecturings and readings, a great deal of money might be made (if it were not *infra dig.*) by one's having readings of one's own books. It would be an odd thing. I think it would take immensely. What do you think?" Mr. Forster did not encourage the idea, and it remained for some time in abeyance, but at Christmas, 1853, my father gave three readings for the benefit of the Midland Institute, in the Birmingham Town Hall, to tremendous audiences; and so many other applications for aid of a similar kind were made to him from other parts of the country, that it soon became evident that there would be little chance for Mr. Forster's advice against the determined set of my father's inclinations toward the platform. But if Mr. Forster could not altogether put a stop to the project, he could delay it considerably, and it was not until the 29th of April, 1858, at St. Martin's Hall, in London, now no longer in existence, that the first professional appearance as a reader was made. Shall I ever forget how my father, at one of the early St. Martin's Hall readings, gave Serjeant Buzfuz's speech straight at Lord Chief Justice

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Campbell, who happened to be seated in the middle of the front row, and who took the joke with admirable gravity; or how several of the learned counsel who were present, themselves very open to the charge of Buzfuzism, afterwards pronounced the serjeant to be an exaggeration, the like of which the British bar had never known?

As regards Mr. Forster's opposition to the undertaking the truth is, to speak with all respect of so good a friend and, in the main, so judicious an adviser, that he was intensely jealous of anything my father did outside his books. "Freely open as Dickens was to counsel in regard to his books he was less accessible to it on points of personal conduct," Mr. Forster says with some artlessness, and it was because he found his influence powerless in regard to the readings that he attributed all sorts of evils, real and imaginary, to them. "It was," he declared, "a substitution of lower for higher aims; a change to commonplace from more elevated pursuits, and it had so much of the character of a public exhibition for money as to raise, in the question of respect for his calling as a writer, a question also of respect for him as a gentleman." My father took a clearer and a wider view than this, and the result justified his confidence. Neither as a writer, nor as a gentleman, did his public readings damage him in any way, and, for my part, I have always thought that a great deal of that curious sort of private affection which the public were always ready to display towards him, arose from the relations of personal friendship, so to speak, which were set up in the course of his numerous public appearances. "Mr. Dickens, will you let me touch the hand that has filled my house with many friends?" said a lady, quite unknown to him, speaking to him in the streets of York the day after one of the early readings, and I think this was the sort of spirit in which the readings were at first accepted, and which, even if they had not been as admirable as they were, would still have made them successful. But how admirable they were, and what a prodigious success they grew to be on their own merits alone, many of my readers know, and need not now be told by me.

Time will not admit of my dwelling at any length on the history of the readings, and it is only in respect to their bearing on the premature close of my father's life that I will touch upon them, even briefly, now. For, unfortunately, they did have a

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distinct bearing upon the end, and must be said to have hastened it even if they did not actually bring it about. It was not only that the work was hard—I have known readers and lecturers who have worked much harder, in so far as mere travelling and number of public appearances are concerned—but there was something of almost willful exaggeration, of a defiance of any possible overfatigue, either of mind or body, in the feverish sort of energy with which these readings were entered upon and carried out. And that they went on long after unmistakable physical signs had given the clearest warnings of serious danger ahead, everybody knows quite well.

The first two series, those of 1858–1859 and 1861–1863, did no particular harm, though indications of overwork were not wanting from time to time even then—not altogether surprising when we remember that, besides the readings, there were editorial duties to be attended to, and books to be written as well. But in the early part of 1865 my father had a somewhat severe attack of illness, and was afflicted from that time to his death with a lameness in the left foot, brought about by some form of inflammation which, occasionally, caused him acute suffering, and which persistence in excessive walking exercise greatly aggravated. The actual cause of this painful malady was somewhat of a puzzle to the doctors. Sir Henry Thompson put it down to gout. Another eminent authority, Mr. Syme, of Edinburgh, said it was nothing of the kind. All that they did agree upon was that perfect rest was necessary, and perfect rest was just the very thing that could not be got. And in June of that year my father was in the terrible railway accident at Staplehurst, when, although he escaped actual injury, he received such a shock to the nervous system as he never quite got over. I went down to Gadshill when I saw the news in the paper next morning, and found him greatly shaken, though making as light of it as possible—how greatly shaken I was able to perceive from his continually repeated injunctions to me by and by, as I was driving him in the basket carriage, to "go slower, Charley," until we came to a footpace, and it was still, "go slower, Charley."

For some months he suffered considerably at intervals. There was a perceptible drag about the left foot; the pulse denoted some ailment of the heart. He was, in fact, really ill—so ill that he even recognized the fact himself. In February, 1866, he wrote:

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"For some time I have been unwell. I have noticed for some time a decided change in my buoyancy and hopefulness—in other words, in my usual tone." All this pointed to the absolute necessity of rest, but the very next sentence in the letter I have just quoted ran: "So I have accepted an offer to read for thirty nights in England, Ireland, Scotland, or Paris," and so the round of hard work, under circumstances more than ever difficult and unfavorable, began again. So the season of 1866–1867 was got through, not without great effort and considerable suffering, and in the autumn of 1867 he went on his second visit to America, where, notwithstanding almost continual illness and frequent recurrences of the trouble in the foot, aggravated by over-walking in the snow, he travelled and read all through a very severe and trying winter.

Soon after his return I joined my father as private secretary and sub-editor of *All the Year Round*, and almost my very first experience of work with him was connected with the new reading which he now had strongly in his mind—that of the *Sikes* and *Nancy* murder. We were alone together at Gadshill, I remember, and I was sitting, with doors and windows open, one bright, clear, still, warm autumn day, in the library, engaged upon a mass of papers, as to which I had to report to him later in the day. Where he was I did not know, but, supposing him to be in the Swiss chalet, over in the shrubbery, across the road, took advantage of having the place to myself, and went steadily on with my work. Presently I heard a noise as if a tremendous row were going on outside, and as if two people were engaged in a violent altercation or quarrel, which threatened serious results to somebody. Ours being a country constantly infested with tramps, I looked upon the disturbance at first as merely one of the usual domestic incidents of tramp life arising out of some nomadic gentleman beating his wife up our lane, as was quite the common custom, and gave it hardly a moment's attention. Presently the noise came again, and yet again, worse than before, until I thought it really necessary to ascertain what was going on. Stepping out of the door on to the lawn at the back, I soon discovered the cause of the disturbance. There, at the other end of the meadow, was my father, striding up and down, gesticulating wildly, and, in the character of *Mr. Sikes*, murdering *Nancy*, with every circumstance of the most aggravated brutality. After

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dinner I told him what I had seen, and he read me the murder—it was rather a startler for an audience of one—and asked me what I thought about it. "The finest thing I have ever heard," was my verdict; "but don't do it." If there was one thing more than another that my father resented it was any suggestion from anybody else that his health was failing, or that he was undertaking anything beyond his strength, so when I was pressed for reasons I would give none, and merely stuck to my point without any explanation or argument. Mr. Forster had also objections to urge; he had, as he tells us, a strong dislike to the proposal, less, perhaps, on the ground which ought to have been insisted upon, of the excessive physical exertion it would involve, than because such a subject seemed to be "out of the province of reading," and it was finally resolved that, before the murder was incorporated in a public programme, there should be a private trial performance of it at St. James' Hall.

Well, the trial performance was given before a very representative and critical audience, whose verdict, unfortunately, confirmed my father in his opinion of the effect the reading would produce upon the public, and the moment he spoke to me—eager, triumphant, excited—at the little supper on the platform which brought the proceedings to a cheery end, I knew that no advice or expostulation of mine would avail. "Well, Charley, and what do you think of it now?" he said to me as I came up to where he was receiving the enthusiastic congratulations of such good judges of dramatic effect as Madame Celeste and Mrs. Keeley. "It is finer even than I expected," I answered, "but I still say, don't do it." As he looked at me with a puzzled expression in his eyes, Mr. Edmund Yates came up to us. "What do you think of this, Edmund?" my father said. "Here is Charley saying it is the finest thing he ever heard, but persists in telling me, without giving any reason, not to do it." Mr. Yates, an intimate friend and a keen observer, knew more than most of the people who were gathered about us, and, with one quick look at me, said gravely, and to my father's intense amazement, "I agree with Charley, sir."

And, indeed, the situation was grave enough to any one who would look at it impartially. He had altered materially of late. There was no doubt the American work had told upon him severely. The trouble in the foot was greatly intensified, and he

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was gravely out of health. Among other serious symptoms he noticed that he could only read the halves of the letters over the shopdoors on his right. The old elasticity was impaired, the old unflagging vigor often faltered. One night at the St. James's Hall, I remember, he found it impossible to say Pickwick, and called him Pickswick, and Picnic, and Peckwicks, and all sorts of names except the right, with a comical glance of surprise at the occupants of the front seats, which were always reserved for his family and friends. But, although his lifelong friend and medical attendant, Mr. Carr Beard, looked very grave at this danger signal, he himself treated it lightly enough, and if he attributed it to any special cause at all, referred it, as he referred the disordered vision I have mentioned, to the effects of the medicine he was taking.

Everything pointed to the desirability of his giving up the more trying part of his work—at the very least to the absolute necessity of not adding to it in any way. But his mind was made up. The new series of readings must be carried through, and *Sikes* and *Nancy* must be put into the programme as often as possible. You will see, if you will read Mr. George Dolby's excellent book, *Charles Dickens as I Knew Him*, how intolerant he became of any suggestion that the work that he had undertaken was too hard, or that the number of murders should at any rate be curtailed, and what tremendous effort, followed by what pitiable exhaustion, this particular reading cost him. But nothing could stop him, until nature stepped in and brought the series of readings to an abrupt close towards the end of April, 1869, by the development of symptoms, the significance of which Dr. Thomas Watson, who was specially consulted, and Mr. Beard, refused to ignore. In fact when my father described himself, in a letter written to Mr. Dolby on the very eve of the breakdown, as being, "a little out of sorts," he was, in fact, on the brink of an attack of paralysis of the left side, and probably of apoplexy.

The enforced rest brought about some improvement, and during the rest of the year he pursued his usual editorial business, in the course of which I was with him constantly, and also worked at *Edwin Drood* with no very apparent strain, and really seemed on the road to a much better state of health. But there was yet to be a farewell series of twelve readings at St. James' Hall, and I have no sort of doubt whatever that these completed the

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work which the murder had practically begun, and, if his death can be attributed to any one thing, killed him. "I have had some steps put up against the side of the platform, Charley," said Mr. Beard, who was constantly in attendance. "You must be there every night, and if you see your father falter in the least, you must run up and catch him and bring him off with me, or, by Heaven, he'll die before them all." What I felt during those readings, and when I saw the exhausted state of the reader in his dressing-room afterwards, I need not tell you. But, strangely enough, I remember very well that on the very last night of all, the 15th of March, 1870, I thought I had never heard him read the "*Christmas Carol*" and "*The Trial from Pickwick*" so well and with so little effort, and almost felt inclined to hope against hope that things had not been really so serious as the doctors had supposed.

My readers know how soon the end came. On that mournful time you will not, I am sure, wish me to dwell. I will only tell you of the last time I was with him before he lay dying in the dining-room at Gadshill—an interview which is curiously illustrative of that reality to him of his ideal world to which I have already referred. He was in town for our usual Thursday meeting on the business of *All the Year Round*, and, instead of returning to Gadshill on that day, had remained over night, and was at work again in his room in Wellington street on Friday, June 3. During the morning I had hardly seen him except to take his instructions about some work I had to do, and at about one o'clock—I had arranged to go into the country for the afternoon—I cleared up my table and prepared to leave. The door of communication between our rooms was open as usual, and, as I came toward him, I saw that he was writing very earnestly. After a moment I said, "If you don't want anything more, sir, I shall be off now," but he continued his writing with the same intensity as before, and gave no sign of being aware of my presence. Again I spoke—louder, perhaps, this time—and he raised his head and looked at me long and fixedly. But I soon found that, although his eyes were bent upon me and he seemed to be looking at me earnestly, he did not see me, and that he was, in fact, unconscious for the moment of my very existence. He was in dreamland with *Edwin Drood*, and I left him—for the last time.

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It was but a few days after that, as you know, that we laid him to his rest in the grey old Abbey, with the garden plots all around appropriately ablaze in the warm June air with the scarlet flowers he loved so well, and I think that we all felt, even then, in the first bitterness of our loss, that the end, although it had come all too soon for us, had come to him as he himself would have wished it to come. "Much better to die, doing," he had said thirteen or fourteen years before; and again, "I have always felt of myself that I must, please God, die in harness. How strange it is to be never at rest, and never satisfied, and ever trying after something that is never reached, and to be always laden with plot and plan, and care and worry; how clear it is that it must be, and that one is driven by an irresistible might until the journey is worked out! It is much better to go on and fret than to stop and fret. As to repose—for some men there's no such thing in this life."

CHAS. DICKENS.

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MILITARY LESSONS OF THE CHINO-JAPANESE WAR.

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JAPAN has leaped, almost at one bound, to a place among the great nations of the earth. Her recent exploits in the war with China have focused all eyes upon her, and the world now comprehends the startling fact that this small island kingdom, so little taken account of heretofore in the calculations even of students and statesmen, has within a few decades stridden over ground traversed by other nations only within centuries. We estimate the rate at which bodies move by their relations to other bodies, and it often happens that when the eye is fixed upon two objects, both moving in the same direction, the greater speed of the one causes the other to seem to be standing still. So, to the casual observer, it is with China and Japan. The common impression is that while Japan has been making phenomenal progress, China has been stagnating. This is not true in a military sense; if it were, experts would not be everywhere studying, as they now are, the lessons of the recent war in Asia.

The value of preparation, of being ready, for war has never been more conclusively shown than by the results of this struggle. The Chinese government seems to have understood the importance of sea power. Preparing itself for whatever emergency might come upon it, possibly for this very conflict, it had made large expenditures in procuring modern ships and modern guns, and upon these and their effectiveness it seemed almost entirely to rely. When the war began China only had a comparatively small number of well-equipped soldiers. For defence against invasion by land it would seem to have reckoned largely on the power of the numbers it could put in the field, though its arsenals were

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entirely without proper supplies of arms and ammunition. The Japanese were thoroughly prepared. They had arms and munitions in abundance and of the most modern types. The drill and discipline of their troops and of their navy had been carefully perfected after the best European models. The organization of all their forces seems to have been without a flaw.

From the very first Japan pushed the war with vigor, and her armies and her navy were handled with consummate ability. The issue was practically decided by two battles, one upon the land at Ping Yang on the 15th and 16th of September, and the other upon the water off the Yalu on the 17th of September.

The Japanese, by greater energy and better means of transportation, had beaten their enemy in putting troops into Korea, and by strategic movements, which will always be admired, converged three columns composed altogether of 60,000 men upon the 22,000 of the Chinese at Ping Yang, all the several columns striking from different directions at the same time. There could be but one result. The flower of the Chinese army was destroyed, and when a day or two later the news came that their fleet had been beaten off the Yalu the Chinese lost heart. They were never able to raise another army that could stand before the victorious columns of the Japanese in the open field. The Chinese seem to have successfully resisted and turned back a column that sought to go northward towards Mukden by way of Motien Pass, but this did not seriously affect the result that was inevitable after Ping Yang and Yalu.

It does not follow as a natural conclusion from the results of this struggle, that the Chinese are, as a people, incapable, under proper leadership and proper organization, of waging a great war.

The disparity between the land forces of these two countries in training, equipment, arms, and in other respects was so great as to render it almost impossible to institute any comparison between this war and other wars, yet it should not be forgotten that quite often where the difference in these regards was not so notable, as in several of Napoleon's campaigns, one or two signal victories destroyed the power and struck a terror into the hearts of armies that greatly enfeebled, and sometimes absolutely ended, all further resistance. Within the memory of the present generation occurred a war between two of the greatest nations

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of the earth that teaches, in as striking a manner as does the struggle we are considering, the value of thorough preparation. When the Franco-German war began in 1870, it will be remembered that public opinion everywhere, and especially in America, was much divided as to what was to be the outcome. A majority, perhaps, of disinterested lookers on, remembering Wagram, Austerlitz and Jena, and forgetting the battles fought by the Germans under Frederick the Great, inclined to the opinion that France was to be the victor. But Germany, in 1870, like Japan, in 1894, was ready for battle. Her troops were drilled, disciplined, thoroughly equipped, and armed to perfection; her commissariat complete; her means of transportation provided for beforehand; her plans perfected. Von Moltke had organized victory before a gun was fired. The campaign had been wrought out and perfected, even to the minutest detail. The French fought bravely at Spicheren Heights, at Gravelotte, and other places, but one disastrous defeat after another taught them that they were overmatched, not by the individual prowess of their enemies, but by the superior organization of the invaders. The German army moved like clockwork. Wherever there was a strategic point, there were the Germans in superior numbers. In the German lines and in the German plans there seemed to be no weak point. The French armies lost heart, and though they made many gallant fights, it is safe to say that there were not many detachments of the French army who, after Bazaine was shut up in Metz, ever fought as their ancestors had fought under Napoleon I. This does not argue want of courage, for there are no braver people than the French. It shows only, what all history demonstrates, that signal defeats often demoralize armies. There are few troops indeed that can be counted on to resist bravely when convinced that resistance is useless, and it was scarcely to be expected of the Chinese that they should stand stoutly against the Japanese when they saw themselves to be so immeasurably inferior as they were in drill, in discipline, in organization, and especially in the matter of arms and munitions of war. It is really pathetic to contemplate the condition of the Chinese soldiers who had imposed upon them the duty of meeting the well equipped and thoroughly disciplined armies of Japan. Against troops supplied with all the terrible appliances of modern war Chinamen were forced to take the field armed with guns of every conceivable pat-

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tern, some of date one hundred years back, some with pikes and pitchforks, and some with crossbows. Upon the battlefield of Port Arthur one poor fellow, who died bravely at his post, was found stark and stiff in position of vainly endeavoring to load a musket with a cartridge that could not be forced into its muzzle.

Disparity in arms and munitions of war has been growing apace with the years. The needle gun is said to have decided the battle of Sadowa in a few minutes, and as inventions now crowd upon inventions it is safe to say that in the future, even more than in the past, victories will often and again depend upon him who equips and sends armies into the field, as success will be more and more dependent upon superiority of weapons, adaptation of and previously acquired skill in using weapons, and less and less upon the prowess of the individual soldier. It is not intended by these reflections to underrate the value of those personal qualities which go so far to make up the good soldier. "The patriotism, loyalty, faith, manhood, public spirit and self-respect," which Sir Edwin Arnold in a recent article justly attributes to the Japanese, count for much, sometimes for almost everything in a soldier. These were the qualities that rendered the volunteers in the Federal and Confederate Armies, even without previous training, so terrible in the battles of our Civil War, and, beyond doubt, individual prowess contributed much to the triumph of the Japanese armies in China. But all these conspicuous virtues would not, of themselves, have availed to achieve the wonderful results we have witnessed; they must have been supplemented, as they were, by the exact and rigorous methods that have developed modern armies, and these Japanese armies must have had modern arms in their hands to succeed as they did.

This article, however, does not propose to discuss the peculiarities or the characteristics of these two peoples. It will take no account of the differences, whatever they may be, in the institutions or in the social, religious or economic conditions existing in the two countries. There is no doubt much in all these that contributes towards the making of the individual soldier. It is sufficient for the present to say that though the Chinese have suffered a disastrous and overwhelming defeat, and though they won no victory of any material importance, there is no reason to suppose them under favoring conditions to be incapable as soldiers. Indeed they have shown themselves, in their contests with each other, to

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be a warlike people, and, when trained by American and European officers, they have exhibited splendid qualities as soldiers. General Gordon, than whom, in the languge of Tennyson,

"This earth has borne no simpler, nobler man,"

speaking of a defeat finally suffered in one of their many battles, by "The Ever Victorious Army," which had been trained by the American, Ward, said: "The Chinese troops behaved as bravely as soldiers could do under the circumstances, holding their ground for nearly eight hours, exposed to a galling fire from the enemy, from under cover, so hotly as to have either killed or wounded twenty out of the forty-six Europeans serving as officers in the force, and between four and five hundreds of Chinese." It is admitted on all hands that the Chinese fought bravely at Yalu. In one respect, however, there must be a radical change of opinion in China before the Chinese armies can ever be representative of the Chinese people. In China now the Civil Service of the government is held in the highest esteem, next in order come other occupations, and lastly in public opinion ranks the soldier. It must finally come to be understood in China as elsewhere that man can perform no higher office than the stern duty of defending with his life, if need be, the honor and interests of his country.

China had in this war a chance, and only one chance to win, and that lay in her fleet. Her land forces were, as has been stated, for the most part, raw, undisciplined and without any efficient supply of arms or equipments. Against the splendid armies of Japan they were helpless and hopeless, but the ships of China, including armament were, in offensive and defensive power, superior to those of Japan. Both the Chinese and Japanese fleets were modern. Japan's ships had been built abroad in France, England and Holland, and many of the best of them at home. They had all been commissioned since 1878. China's ships had been built in Germany, in England, and a few of them at home, and had all been commissioned since 1881. The larger proportion of the Japanese ships were of very recent construction, and the combined horse-power of their engines, which indicated speed, was somewhat greater than the combined horse-power of China's fleet, the figures standing 95,793 for Japan, as against 90,377 for China. Japan had twenty-five effective torpedo boats, combined displacement 1,290 tons, and indicated horse-power 12,200, as against

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twenty-seven serviceable torpedo boats for China, with the displacement of 1,810 tons, and I. H. P. 27,600. Exclusive of torpedo boats the combined displacement of the Chinese fleet was 53,495 tons, of the Japanese 55,934, which was slightly to the advantage of the latter; but the weight of fire of the Chinese ships was 19,968, whereas the Japanese vessels threw in a single discharge only 14,850 pounds. Japan had no battle ships, nothing that could fairly match with the "Chenyuen" and "Tingyuen" of the Chinese fleet. The Japanese navy was, however, like the Japanese people, one organized body. The Chinese navies were several independent organizations, each lacking in drill and discipline. The ships of neither of these several Chinese fleets had ever manœuvered in company at sea. They were all, nevertheless, well built and well armed modern vessels.

It was apparent from the beginning that the control of the sea was vital to China, and on the sea was her only chance. Her policy was to combine at once all her navies, to seek to bring the Japanese fleets to battle, and trust to her greater weight of metal, and the superior defensive power of her battleships. It was inevitable that a decisive battle on the sea must come at last, and it could not long be deferred. Either China or Japan was to control the waters. China should have brought on a battle at her own time and in her own way. A conflict between two modern navies, each seeking domination over the sea, cannot long be deferred. In this age of steam, when ships can go straight to any desired point, the world is not wide enough to allow a fleet to long avoid a combat by hiding away, as the allied fleets did for months when Nelson was hunting them to the battle of Trafalgar. Control in Korea seemed to be indeed the occasion of the war, but the game of war between the two nations could not by any possibility be confined to that little country. Korea was simply a pawn, not worth the taking, when the queen, the enemy's navy, was in sight. Besides, possession of the sea meant for China possession of Korea. She could approach it by land; Japan could only reach it by water.

China began the war by hurriedly shipping troops into Korea, when in transportation she was distinctly inferior to Japan. The tonnage of the mercantile marine, flying the Japanese flag was, at the outbreak of the war, 104,890, while the tonnage of the merchant vessels, flying the Chinese

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flag, was only 34,780. Here then, instead of pitting her combined navies immediately against the Japanese fleet, to which in power of resistance and weight of fire they were decidedly superior, China began by avoiding a conflict which must inevitably come at no distant date, and entered upon the losing game of transporting troops to Korea, the battle ground Japan had chosen, in competition with an enemy, whose lines by sea were shorter and whose transports were as three to one. The result of this game was shortly seen in the numbers that met each other at the battle of Ping Yang.

Japan, having beaten China in transporting troops to Korea, was then allowed to choose her own time and place for a sea fight in the battle off the Yalu. The first of the untoward results of the unfortunate policy of scattering her war ships upon which China had embarked, was that she was worsted off Asan, where three of Japan's ships attacked two of the Chinese vessels. Both sides suffered considerably, but the moral effect was a victory for Japan. Then followed the sinking of the "Kow Shing," the transport vessel, with one thousand Chinese troops on board. These two affairs were, for China, the disheartening prelude to the battle off the Yalu. This action was decisive of the war on the water. It gave Japan practically the control of the sea. China lost in the fight the "Kingyuen," coast defense vessel, 2,900 tons displacement; the "Yung Wei" and "Chao Yung," gun vessels, 1,350 tons displacement; the "Chihyuen," cruiser, 2,300 tons displacement; and the "Kwang Chia," gun-vessel, 1,030 tons displacement, was wrecked in escaping from the action. The Japanese lost no vessels. The "Akagi" was badly damaged, and many other ships suffered, especially the "Matsushima," the Admiral's flag ship. It was nearly a drawn battle. The Japanese fleet drew off before or about nightfall, and when the Chinese fleet left the scene of action the Japanese did not follow closely and never again came in sight. Most of the Japanese fleet had suffered severely. The two Chinese battleships, the "Chenyuen" and "Tingyuen" were, at the close of the action, still in condition to continue the fight, with all their heavy guns absolutely unharmed. The heaviest projectiles used in the fight thrown by the 12.6-inch B. L. R. had failed to injure their armored parts. Their upper works were riddled with projectiles from the smaller rapid-fire guns of the

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Japanese, and the woodwork of both had been set on fire, but their engines, magazine and heavy guns were still in condition to continue the action. The "Tingyuen" was struck 159 times and the "Chenyuen" 220 times during the fight. The belt armor of these vessels was 14.8 inches and their barbettes 12 inches, and this armor was very inferior to that manufactured at the present day. The belt armor of the "Tingyuen" was hit eleven times, deepest indent 5.5 inches; her barbette armor was struck six times, deepest indent 3.2 inches. The "Chenyuen's" belt was struck seven times, and her barbettes twelve times; deepest penetration, 5.5 inches.

In the Chinese line of battle the "Chenyuen" and the "Tingyuen" occupied the centre. Next to them were the coast defense vessels, slighly armored, while the unarmored ships were placed upon the flanks. The Japanese Admiral, well knowing that the aim of his practised gunners was more accurate than that of the Chinese, gave the Chinese battleships a wide berth. His fleet sailed, during the action, in a line somewhat in the form of an ellipse, leaving about 4,000 yards between him and the battleships occupying the centre, and nearing, as he passed, the gun-vessels and cruisers upon the flanks. Thus the fire of the battleships was avoided as far as possible, and the weaker vessels of the Chinese fleet destroyed. That the Japanese cruisers escaped the fate of the Chinese ships of the same class resulted partly from the want of that marksmanship on the part of the Chinese, which only practice can give, and in great part from the want of proper ammunition. One expert, who himself made a careful survey of the Chinese ships after the battle, and who had received full reports of the condition of the Japanese ships, insists that the prime cause of the Chinese defeat was that they had supplied their battleships with armor-piercing shells, and had only three (others say about fifteen) common shells per gun for use against unarmored vessels. The armor-piercing shells, where they struck, passed through the Japanese ships without exploding. Common shells explode on striking. One of these common shells struck the "Matsushima," the Japanese flagship, and that one shot is said to have caused twice as much loss of life on that vessel as was suffered on board the "Chenyuen" and the "Tingyuen" during the whole fight. The marksmanship of the Japanese was excellent, and they were greatly superior to

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the Chinese in their supply of rapid fire guns, by which they were enabled to rain a hail storm of projectiles on the unprotected parts, the upper works, mast, etc., of the enemy. Two hours after the action had begun it was impossible to have made a signal on board the Chinese battleships, as all the halyards had been shot away. Frequent fires occurred during the battle on Chinese vessels; both the battleships were at times aflame. One report says that by the splendid fire of the Japanese the woodwork of the Chinese ships was shivered into kindling wood and then set on fire. Fires also occurred on board Japanese ships, but the Japanese were well drilled in fire exercises and succeeded more easily in subduing the flames, although the fire in one of their vessels was so serious that the ship was withdrawn from action until it could be subdued.

The ram played no part in the battle off Yalu, as the distance at which the battle was fought did not permit of the use of rams. The gallant captain of one of the Chinese ships, when he saw his vessel was disabled, steered straight for the closest Japanese vessel, evidently intending to ram it, but he sank before reaching his enemy.

Shortly after this battle, the news of which created a great sensation throughout naval circles all over the world, many critics, through the newspapers, began to assert that cruisers were superior in action to battleships. The writer of this article published an article in the November number of this REVIEW, in which he endeavored to stem the tide of criticism then seemingly so adverse to battleships. It was admitted in that article that the information from the battle then at hand was meagre, but it was confidently asserted, on principles there laid down and discussed, that when full and accurate reports should be received, the battleship would be found to have maintained its ground. The fuller information now at hand is an absolute verification of this prediction, and it is the consensus of opinion of experts throughout the world that this action emphasized, in the most striking way, the superiority of the battleship over the cruiser.

The action off Yalu pronounced the doom of all unnecessary woodwork on naval vessels, and all navies are now dispensing with wood as far as possible. In this battle the Japanese had no torpedo boats, and the Chinese had only three. One of these

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was bravely handled. She discharged three torpedoes at the "Saikio Maru," the last at a distance of only forty or fifty yards on broadside, but she failed to strike the vessel, the torpedo diving underneath and coming up on the other side. It was reserved for the Japanese at Wei-Hai-Wei, to show the efficiency of torpedo boats. There two attacks were made by these boats at night. In the first, ten torpedo boats took part. Two of them were disabled, two were lost, and ten men killed, but the battleship "Tingyuen" was sunk. In the second night attack, five torpedo boats took part; one of these fouled a boom, broke her rudder, and failed to enter the harbor. The other four torpedoed a cruiser, a gun vessel, a tug boat, and a schooner, and returned without injury.

The two battleships, "Chenyuen" and "Tingyuen," again vindicated themselves at Wei-Hai-Wei. One of them, as has been seen, was sunk by a torpedo boat, and the other finally surrendered, after having resisted for days the fire of the Chinese forts on the mainland, which the Japanese had captured and turned against it. Shortly before the surrender of the "Chenyuen" a remarkable letter was addressed to the brave old Admiral Ting by Marshal Count Oyama, of the Japanese army, and the Japanese Vice-Admiral Ito. Admiral Ting's cause was hopeless, and surrender inevitable. The purpose of the letter was to invite the Chinese admiral to take refuge in Japan until such time as the war should be ended, when the prospect was held out that he might be useful to his country in effecting reforms. The letter is so remarkable that, though it has already been published, it deserves to be perpetuated. It was, in part, as follows:

"To whatever causes the successive failures of the Chinese arms by sea and land may be attributed, we think your Excellency's sound judgment will not fail in assigning them to that true cause which must be apparent to any unprejudiced observer. In China the literary class is still the governing class, and literary accomplishment is the chief, if not the sole, way to rank and power now as it was a thousand years ago. We do not venture to deny that this system is excellent in itself, and might well be permanent and sufficient if China were to stand alone in the world. But national isolation is no longer a possibility.

"What a hard experience the Japanese Empire had thirty years ago, and how narrowly she escaped the awful calamity which threatened, will be to your Excellency well known. To throw away the old principle and to adopt the new as the sole condition of preserving the integrity of the Empire is as necessary with your government now as it was with ours then. The neces-

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sity must be attended to, or fall is inevitable sooner or later. That this is being brought about by the Japanese arms is due to mere chance; it might have been caused by other political difficulties as well. Now, at such a conjunction, is it the part of a truly patriotic man, upon whom the necessity of action devolves, to allow himself to be simply dragged along by the force of circumstances? Compared with the re-establishment on a sound working basis of the oldest Empire in the world, with its glorious history and its extensive territories, what is the surrender of a fleet or the loss of a whole army?

"If your Excellency be truly patriotic and loyal to the cause of your country, we would beg you to listen to the words of a sympathetic heart filled with the sense of honor representative of the fighting men of Japan, which asks you to come to stay in Japan until the time arrives when your services will be required for the good cause."

But the gallant old Chinese Admiral preferred death to what he felt would be dishonor. He negotiated a surrender of his forces, stipulating for their safety, and then committed suicide.

A glance at the progress so recently and rapidly made by these countries in building up modern navies will show that, while Japan's exploits in this direction are nothing less than marvellous, the results achieved by China have also been quite remarkable. Japan has at her principal dockyard, Yokosuka, on the Gulf of Yeddo, three dry docks, 308, 392, and 502 feet long; at Sasebo, at which work was begun in 1886, two dry docks, two building slips, rolling mills, store houses, hospital, barracks, etc.; at Kure, near Hiroshima, she has begun a dockyard, which is to be her most important constructing and repairing establishment; and at Onahama (Kobe), she has a small yard, in which she is building torpedo boats. Since 1887, Japan has built from eight to ten vessels, ranging from 614 to 4,200 tons. Others are now in process of construction, and the ships she turns out are first-class. She has gun factories and foundries at Osaka, at Tokyo, at Okazakimura, and a powder factory at Itabashi, where she is constructing guns of various classes, gun carriages, rifles, ammunition, accoutrements, etc. The Portuguese government purchased recently from Japan six breech-loading rifles made at Osaka.

China made some attempts at a navy yard at Port Arthur in 1881. In 1887 she awarded to a French company a contract to improve this yard, which was completed by the end of 1890. The channel, originally of 12 feet, was dredged to a depth of 24 feet. A wet basin for 12 ships was created, and the yard is equipped with shops, storehouses, and the best modern machinery

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for every kind of work. Some small vessels were under construction here at the breaking out of the war. At Wei-Hai-Wei she had a repairing station, and an extensive engineering establishment, and a dry dock, 340 feet long, at Taku. At Kiang Nan, near Shanghai, there is a dry dock, castings are made, and large ordnance work done. At Foo Chow she began work in 1867, and commenced the construction of vessels in 1874, mostly wooden and of smaller types, but the "Pingyuen," an armored coast-defense vessel of 2,600 tons, was completed here in 1890. There are several building slips and dry docks at this place, the largest of which is 420 feet long. She has another yard at Whampoa, near Canton, purchased in 1888. There are two dry docks here, 350 and 500 feet long, and some small gun vessels had been constructed at this yard. At Kiang Nan, near Shanghai, China constructs heavy guns. In 1893 she turned out here a 5-inch R. F. and a 12-inch B. L. R., built entirely by Chinese, except as to the tube of the latter. Several of these and intermediate calibres were under construction at the beginning of the late war. She has also ordnance factories at Kirin, Nankin, and Hanyan, at the latter of which places there is a large plant for producing gun and armor steel and small arms.

Japan has, for the training of her *personnel*, the Imperial Naval College at Kure, which deserves to rank high among the naval institutions of the world, and at Tokyo a Naval Academy, corresponding partly to our War College, in which a thorough postgraduate training is given. She has also, at Yokosuka, Kure and Saxpo barracks, at which her troops are instructed in life aboard ships, drills, etc., both naval and military; and a torpedo station at Nagura for the instruction of officers and seamen, with a workshop, foundry and storehouses. The careful instruction given to recruits by Japan, including her training schools for seamen, gunners, engineroom artificers and even firemen, before they are put on board ships, are worthy of the most careful study.

China has, at Tientsin, a naval school, established by Li Hung Chang in 1881, for students from Northern China. Besides elementary branches, there is a very complete course in Chinese and foreign studies, mathematics, gunnery, engineering, torpedo science, fortifications, chemistry and other subjects pertaining to the training of naval officers. She also has a school of navigation

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at Fuchau, under a Chinaman, educated abroad, and an Englishman. The naval college here is gradually exacting a higher standard of scholarship. English is being taught and foreign teachers, or Chinese educated abroad, are being employed as instructors at both of these institutions. China had also, at Wei-Hai-Wei, a torpedo school, the superintendent being a lieutenant in the German service, Bourchier. The Imperial Naval College at Nanking was opened in December, 1890, to educate young men for official positions in the Southern Fleet. Of its sixteen instructors, two are English, and five of the Chinese teachers had studied abroad.

Thus it will be seen that during recent years, both the Chinese and Japanese have been availing themselves of the best sources of information, and both nations have been sending young men abroad to study naval science. Japan has for years had one or more students at the United States Naval Academy, and others in France, England, and Germany. China has sent some students abroad, though not so many as Japan, but certainly the efforts she has heretofore made clearly indicate that this great nation, whose supineness and backwardness are so much and so frequently lamented, is beginning to awaken to the necessity of adopting modern civilization. What is to be the effect upon China and the Chinese of the reverses suffered by her in this late war, which certainly are in great part, and which the Chinese themselves will undoubtedly believe to be, altogether traceable to the superior methods of the Japanese, is matter of speculation.

There is nothing, so far as known at this writing, in the recent treaty of peace to prevent China from preparing herself in the near future for another struggle with Japan, just as France has been for twenty years putting herself in readiness for another possible test of strength with Germany. What if this giant nation should rouse herself, and through the influence of some great leader, shake together her loosely-jointed limbs, as Bismarck under William welded the disjointed German states into one? Her strength lies in three hundred and fifty millions of people, singularly patient, wonderfully industrious and capable in a remarkable degree of enduring hunger and cold. United they could accomplish almost any result. China will believe, and with much semblance of reason, that if she had only

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had common instead of armor-piercing shells she might, and that if in addition to these her ships had been supplied with more rapid fire guns she undoubtedly would, have won at Yalu. Had she gained a decisive victory there, followed up, it would have given her absolute control of the sea. Dominion over the sea would eventually have given her control of Korea and would have saved her from invasion. The splendid armies of Japan armed and ready for the fray would in that case have been absolutely useless, except to repel invasion. They could only have stood upon the seashore, just as millions of our countrymen would in case our navy should be overpowered, looking out upon the ocean in helpless despair, cursing the authorities that had failed to provide them with means with which to go out upon the waters and fight for their country. If China begins to gird up her loins, Japan will respond, and indeed whatever may or may not happen in Asia, it may be confidently predicted that Japan will immensely increase her naval resources. She will not be slow to find in the events of the recent past many reasons for this course.

This Queen of the Asiatic seas the world has been in the habit of looking upon as a small country, but it will now be remembered in every reckoning of the resources of nations that Japan's people, homogeneous and united, are quite equal in numbers to the population of England, Ireland, Wales and Scotland, and that the United Kingdom is and has been for years mistress of the seas. Americans must remember, too, that only the waters of one ocean, a wide one, no doubt, but easily traversed by navies, separate their country from Asia. Our policy, it is true, is and has been one of peace—peace always when it can be maintained with honor—peace and good will not only with, but among, all the nations of the earth. We avoid entangling alliances with other nations, but we have constantly exercised our good offices with both China and Japan, as far as we might, to bring them again into peaceful relations. Such, it is hoped, will always be our aim, but let us bear in mind that we can never be assured of the ability to command our peace unless we are prepared for emergencies.

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THE SILVER QUESTION.

I.—GERMANY'S ATTITUDE AS TO A BI-METALLIC UNION.

BY COUNT VON MIRBACH, MEMBER OF THE PRUSSIAN HOUSE OF LORDS AND OF THE GERMAN REICHSTAG.

ON February 15 last the Reichstag began a discussion of the currency question, pursuant to the following demand submitted by Dr. Friedberg, Von Kasdorff, Dr. Lieber, and myself:

"The Reichstag is asked to request the confederated governments to issue invitations as soon as possible for a monetary conference, looking toward the international regulation of the currency question." This demand was signed by 211 members; that is, a majority of the German Reichstag. At the very outset of the speech with which I introduced themotion I stated that "the only way in which an international union can be thought of is on the basis of a fixed relation between gold and silver, established by an international treaty."

The Chancellor, Prince Hohenlohe, made the following declaration at the same session:

"It must be conceded, without prejudice to our national currency, that the growing disparity of value between the two coin-metals is producing a detrimental reaction upon our industrial life. I am therefore inclined, in the further pursuit of the endeavors which have resulted in the convoking of the Silver Commission, to consider with the confederated governments whether other states which are essentially concerned in the enhancement of the value of silver, cannot be brought into a friendly exchange of views on mutually protective measures."

At the second session of the Reichstag on February 16, Count Posadowsky, Secretary of the Treasury, said:

"Just view, I pray you, the present situation of the coin and standard questions! At the conference convened by the former Chancellor, even the monometallists acknowledged that the depreciation of silver entailed serious damage to our industrial life. It is indubitable that the lessened value of

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silver has also exercised a disadvantageous influence upon our internal manufactures and exports.

"In opposition to this statement it is urged that our export to silver countries is a minimum one, and can therefore cut no great figure in comparison with the aggregate economic interests of the nation. In this limited sense the claim is only partially true, for there is no doubt that, on account of the depreciation of silver, English production and export also suffer materially in the intercourse with silver countries. But the resultant stagnation to English manufactures on the one hand, and to English exports on the other, produces a latent reaction also upon German manufactures and exports to silver countries—a factor which must not be disregarded.

"It is, moreover, certain that our native mining interests are suffering most grievously from the depreciated value of silver. Attach whatever importance you wish to these interests, it is well enough known that they constitute an old, traditional industry which gives occupation to many working people, that a transposition of the industry is, in its nature, impossible, and that the very existence of a great many working people is jeopardized by the decline of our mining prosperity.

"And there is a third consideration which is recognized by monometallists. It can not be doubted that there is something essentially wrong in the considerable under-valuation of the current silver coin. We have been able so far to ascertain only one instance in foreign countries of a genuine counterfeiting of foreign coins, but I think it cannot be controverted that a similar possibility and danger in reference to our coins must threaten us so long as a thaler has only the value of 1.40 marks.

"The question is a far-reaching one, from the solution of which a great part of the agricultural population of Germany promises itself a benefit, and in view of the representation which this question has found among the overwhelming majority of the Reichstag, it was the duty of the Chancellor to concede a serious, well-meaning investigation of the matter."

The Prussian Council of State to which Bank Director Russel and I referred, occupied itself under the chairmanship of his Majesty, the Emperor, for two days, March 14 and 15, with the question of a standard, and resolved as follows :

"According to the statement of the Chancellor during the session of the Reichstag, February 15 last, an exchange of views of the confederated governments with other states has been proposed concerning common measures for obviating the detrimental reaction recognized to have resulted to industrial life from the increasing disparity between the values of gold and silver. In reference to this statement, of which the Council of State has taken note with pleasure, the same believes that no further measures should be taken at the present time, and that the result of the steps already taken should be awaited."

The enemies of bi-metallism moved to incorporate in the first part of the Council's resolution the terms, "without prejudice to the existing standard," but this was declined. This resolution therefore advances one step beyond the declaration made by the Chancellor in the Reichstag.

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And thus matters stand officially in Germany. It cannot, of course, be known what steps the Chancellor has so far taken to bring about an understanding with the other great powers.

The controlling consideration lies in the action of England. The decision of leading German statesmen depends first of all upon England's attaching herself to a bi-metallistic union. In German bi-metallistic circles the opinion prevails that if Germany really intends to solve the question of a standard and abolish agricultural and industrial penury, the following steps will forthwith have to be taken. First of all, there should be a preliminary conference or diplomatic understanding with France and the United States of North America, in order to settle upon some programme, on the lines of which an international conference could be convoked. The treaty concerning which the governments of the United States and France came to an agreement before the monetary conference at Paris in 1881, might serve as the basis for the preliminary conference. Then the question of the future relation between gold and silver, not being one of principle, would have to be treated as an open one.

The peculiar office of a preliminary conference or other exchange of views would be to consider measures that might seem sufficient to hasten England's entrance into a union.

If England joins an international bi-metallistic union, the solution of this problem cannot be difficult. In that event the relation, 1 : 15½, would also be soon attained, and maintained without the least disturbance.

But even without England's co-operation, the accomplishing of an international bi-metallism is possible, perhaps in a somewhat tardier manner. If Germany, France, and the United States acted together, these states would be in a position to solve this seemingly difficult problem; and powerful enough, too, to maintain the fixed relation between gold and silver. The exclusion of England would redound altogether to the advantage of the commercial relations and industrial exports of these three great powers; indeed, their advantage in these respects would be greater in that case than if England belonged to the union.

However, it is wholly useless at present to go into this question of "with or without England," inasmuch as the circles in Germany with whom the power of ultimate decision rests would

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under no circumstances declare for a bi-metallistic union without England.

The economic condition of Germany calls loudly for a solution of the silver question; and this surely can be made possible only through an international bi-metallism. I shall not dwell upon our financial conditions, which are in reality much more unfavorable than they are officially represented to be. The economic necessity of a solution of the financial question here is grounded upon the agricultural situation, irrespective of the equal interests of our industries and trades. The lately established commercial-treaty policy has modified the agricultural taxes, while, at the same time, the prices of agricultural products have assumed, in the markets of the world, a sharp and presumably lasting tendency downwards. *The cost of the production of grain has for a considerable time been greater than its value in the market.* German agriculture, shaken as it is economically, can stand such a state of affairs only a short time longer. The possibility of bringing about a general economic revival lies essentially in the solution of the currency question by means of the international double-standard. However, our leading circles here have lacked, with few exceptions, a full understanding of the meaning and importance of the currency question as well as of the economic results of a gold-standard; and, above all, a sufficient recognition of the plight of our agriculture and the still greater dangers with which the near future menaces it.

A year ago I wrote as follows to one of your countrymen:

"It will scarcely be conceivable to you how that is possible in a country where agriculture plays so important a part. Prussia is the preponderating country in the German economic policy. And all the traditions of Prussia go to establish agriculture as something necessary, it is true, and scarcely dispensable, yet, within certain limits, a *quantité négligeable.* This is the leading conception among great masses of our officials. We have had only two periods during which the interests of agriculture enjoyed conspicuous consideration. One was during the reign of Frederick the Great after his wars, and the other under the aegis of Prince Bismarck, the period from 1879 to 1890. But even during the latter period the agrarian question did not receive any systematic treatment, and was only handled fragmentarily and mainly in the domain of the protective tariff. As matters stand here now our officials are, with few exceptions, at bottom, rather inimical than friendly towards agriculture. All circles, even the highest, are affected painfully by the present independent organizing of agriculture, and the prompt and decisive manner with which it looks after its own interests. There has always existed in the residence city a ring, in close touch, no doubt, with the 'High Finance,' which has systematically concealed from the view of

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the most authoritative circles all influences that could lead them to a clear perception of existing conditions. Things were different only during the time from 1879 to 1890, thanks to the influence of Prince Bismarck, but even then not sufficiently so. The portrayal of these conditions is necessary for an appreciation of the course of things with us in Germany, and of the difficulties which beset the solution of the currency question in reference to an initiative by Germany. Many things would be different here, if those in high places possessed a full understanding of the economic condition of agriculture and of the consequences of the currency question in that domain."

One thing that I wrote of a year ago, has changed in a most agreeable fashion. The initiative of His Majesty, the Emperor, makes it unmistakable that he, together with the highest officials, is willing to personally investigate the agricultural conditions thoroughly and seriously; nor does he hesitate to listen to and embrace the views of those who are pronouncedly in favor of agriculture, and who express themselves accordingly. That will be important in solving this question, too. Of course, the influence of the press and of the great banks in Berlin is potent and should not be underrated. The saying of a prominent stock broker here has gained currency: "In this matter we govern. There can be no solution of it until we give our consent."

Although we must not undervalue the power of these circles, we still have a government in Germany which, if it seriously wants to do so, can accomplish anything that it may deem proper; and it will not be able to evade the decision, just as soon as England is ready to strike out in the common path.

One word in conclusion, concerning the United States of North America. In the Reichstag on February 15 last, I said:

"If there is destined to be no bi-metallism, we should wish the American conditions to remain as they are; although, in my opinion, they are untenable for America for any length of time. The golden treasure of America has dwindled, has sunk in such a way that it can no longer provide in gold for covering its currency. Every moment the gold reserves drop to the lowest ebb, and the Secretary of the Treasury is driven to have recourse to petty loans, which are, no doubt, pleasant enough to the gentlemen who furnish him with the loans, for I somehow imagine that those who supply the money, quickly recover it and then renew the game. I doubt whether it will be very different with the $65,000,000. That is a sum which is wholly inadequate for America. Should there be no Currency Union, one of two things will happen. Either America will address herself in all earnestness to the establishment of a currency and seek a loan of $500,000,000 in gold, in the European market,—but what of our gold reserves then; and what of the English Bank and of all the rest?—this alone shows how insufficient gold is, just as soon as America goes earnestly to work. Or,—and this might prove even more calamitous to us—America will renounce the coining of gold altogether and

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go over to the coining of silver. Then we would be confronted with differences in value, which would threaten us much more seriously than the present conditions. Then there would really remain no other course than to close ourselves up hermetically against America, and afford America an opportunity to absorb the whole commerce with Asia by virtue of the parity of its silver currency to that of Asia. I believe that just because things are as they are in America, we should heed the warning, and not wait with our hands in our lap; we should take hold of those things before it is too late."

America could actually absorb the European gold reserves and hold them fast and thus force a decision of the currency question. But that is an event too remote to be anticipated.

Stupidity and ignorance are the best allies of gold currency in Germany, without taking into account the personal interests of a great many influential circles. The most incredible things are invented, spread abroad and made use of. North America in particular is exploited. North American silver mines, it is said, are inexhaustible—although the reverse is true, for it is well known that the richest North American mines are exhausted. German bi-metallists, it is asserted, conduct, without knowing it, the business affairs of American mine owners, and the like. They either overlook or else do not wish to see that America produces more gold than silver. And above all they forget that *there is not a single branch of agricultural production in North America which is not more important and more valuable than all its silver output combined.* It would contribute materially towards the clearing up of views here if American political economists would frequently publish comprehensive tables showing a comparison of the values of North American products.

COUNT VON MIRBACH.

II.—THE SILVER STANDARD IN MEXICO.

BY THE MEXICAN MINISTER.

I MUST begin by disclaiming any purpose of commenting in any manner, even by implication, on the monetary question in the United States, or any attempt to draw a comparison between Mexico and the United States, as it would be neither desirable nor proper for me to do so. This country is so far ahead of Mexico in material progress, commerce, manufactures, agriculture, wages, popular education, wealth, banking and banking

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facilities, and so many other things, that such a comparison would be unfair, although in some regards Mexico has not suffered as much as this country during the present financial crisis. I shall, therefore, confine myself to stating the advantages and disadvantages produced in Mexico by the silver standard prevailing there, so that every reader of the NORTH AMERICAN REVIEW can draw his own conclusions.

The silver standard prevailing in Mexico was not accepted by choice. Mexico being the largest silver-producing country, two-thirds of the whole silver stock of the world having come out of its mines, silver has been our only currency for nearly 400 years. To change it for the gold standard would have caused general ruin, as we do not yet produce gold enough to base our currency on that metal, and as our exports are not yet sufficiently large to allow us to buy all the gold we need for that purpose. The high price of gold is a great incentive to gold mining, and if gold continues at the present high rate for some time, I am sure Mexico will before long be a large producer of that metal. We never had any paper currency, either national, State, or issued by banks. Two or three banks, indeed, have now issued notes, but they are not legal tender. They are convertible into silver coin at the holder's pleasure, and while they circulate freely in the large cities and for convenience' sake are preferred to the hard dollar, they are almost unknown in the small towns and in the country. The bank issues special notes for each place, which are redeemable only in that place, thus keeping up in effect the old system of charging a high premium for the exchange of money from one place to another, the item of profit to the banks corresponding with what used to be the charge for transporting silver money.

The advantages to Mexico of the silver basis are the following.

1st. The silver standard and currency encourages very materially, while other leading commercial nations have the single gold standard, the increase of exports of domestic products, because the expenses of producing them, wages, rents, taxes, etc., are paid for in silver, and therefore their cost as compared with their market value, is considerably less than that of similar articles produced or raised in single gold standard countries. When sold in gold markets, therefore, they bring very lucrative prices, as they are converted into silver, at a high rate of exchange. These conditions have caused a great development in the exportation of

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some of our agricultural products, because they yield very large profit; for instance, coffee, which costs to produce it, all expenses included, on the average, not over ten cents a pound, is sold at about twenty cents in gold, in foreign markets. The exportation of other agricultural products which did not pay when gold and silver were at par, that is at the ratio of one to sixteen, is now remunerative, because there is returned to us in exchange more than we lose in the gold price of the article. Such is the case, for instance, with beans which at eight cents would not pay when silver and gold were at par, but now eight cents in gold make nearly sixteen cents in silver, and that is a lucrative price. Our exports for several years up to 1869 were about $20,000,000 a year; in the year 1872-1873, they amounted to $31,594,005.14; in 1888-1889 they swelled to $60,158,423.02; in 1891-1892 to $75,467,714.95, and in 1892-1893 to $87,509,207.

2d. The silver standard is a great stimulus in developing home manufactures, because foreign commodities have to be paid in gold, and, owing to the high rate of exchange, their price becomes so high that it pays well to manufacture some of them at home, our low wages also helping to bring about these results.

For these reasons we are increasing considerably our manufacturing plants, especially our cotton mills, smelters, etc., and we begin now to manufacture several articles that we used to buy from foreign countries, and all this, notwithstanding that the mountainous character of our country, the want of interior navigable water courses, and the scarcity of fuel, makes manufacturing very expensive in Mexico. But we are finding abundant coal deposits and, when our railroads tap our coal fields, that objection will be considerably diminished. One of our railroads, the "International," built by Mr. C. P. Huntington and his associates, has already reached a very large coalfield near Piedras Negras, which is already supplying some of our wants, and even those of some sections of the Southern Pacific system of this country, but of course it cannot supply the whole of Mexico. When that need is satisfied we will have to contend only with the increased expenses of transporting the raw material to the factories and the manufactured goods to the place of consumption, over a mountainous country with high grades and many sharp curves, unless some new means of transportation may be hereafter devised which will overcome those obstacles. Eventually

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Mexico will utilize for manufacturing the many streams, almost torrents, coming down from the steep mountains which constitute a very large water power.

As it is now, some manufacturing plants of the United States are being taken to Mexico, as appears from the following extract of the annual report of Mr. W. G. Raoul, President of the Mexican National Railroad Company, for the year 1894 which has just come out.

"The most extensive and best equipped shops owned by the company are on the north side of the Rio Grande, in the United States, but the greater expense of operating them has caused the withdrawal of much of the work from them to the shops in Mexico. Our shops in Mexico are not adequate for the entire work of the road, and the removal of the Texas plant into Mexico becomes an economic necessity, if the peculiar trade and the industrial conditions now existing respectively in the two countries are to continue."

A like result has been obtained in other countries which are on a silver basis, such as Japan, China and India, the depreciation of silver or the high rates of exchange having forced those countries to manufacture staple goods for home consumption and in some cases even for export, and this fact begins to be sorely felt in England and other old manufacturing countries. *

3d. While the fall of silver and free coinage in Mexico have not given to the Mexican silver coins, when converted into foreign exchange or sold for gold, any value other than that of the silver bullion contained in the same, nevertheless, the purchasing power of the silver dollar is now, on the whole, as great in Mexico as it ever was.

It is rather puzzling and bewildering to some travellers who go from this country to Mexico to see that a United States silver dollar containing less silver bullion than a Mexican silver dollar was exchanged there for two Mexican silver dollars, when pure

*The following remarks contained in a paper read at a recent session of the Royal Colonial Institute in London, by the Hon. T. H. Whitehead of Hong Kong, China, which deals with the effects of the depreciation in the value of silver on the trade of Great Britain with the Orient, confirms my statement about the great stimulus that the low price of silver is to manufacturing in silver countries.

"In Oriental countries we are witnessing remarkable industrial progress and unequalled prosperity among their people, when simultaneously serious losses are attending similar industries in England; while under the present system it is highly probable that there will be a further fall in the present very low level of gold prices, which will still more prejudice the position of the British manufactures. What is also of unquestionable great concern in the Empire is that it may lead to the transference of a large part of our principal industries to silver-using countries. So long as the gold value of silver continues to be as it is now, liable to violent fluctuations, the more perilous must become the conditions of the principal British industries, and the more possible must it be to prevent disaster from overtaking them. British labor and gold capital can no longer compete on equal terms with Asiatic labor and silver capital, and the position of British industries is growing more critical every day."

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silver was at about fifty-nine cents an ounce; but in such an exchange the Mexican silver dollar is sold for the price of the bullion it contains, while the United States silver dollar is the representative of a gold dollar, and is therefore merchandize bought to pay debts in the United States or Europe.

4th. The fact that foreign commodities have to be paid for in gold, makes them so high that it operates as a protective duty against them. By protectionists this would be counted as a very important advantage, although I myself do not attach very great importance to it in that sense, as I believe in low duties, except in special cases.

5th. The fact that every gold dollar is converted into two silver dollars, when sent to Mexico, encourages the investment in Mexico of foreign capital from the rich countries, which have the gold standard. When that capital is invested in producing commodities sold in gold markets, like coffee, for instance, the profits to investors are very large indeed.

6th. There is another very great advantage that Mexico has derived from the silver standard, although that may be peculiar to us. Before our railroads were built the only articles which we could export were silver and gold dollars—coining being then made compulsory by law—because no other product could pay the very high expense of transportation. The result was that to pay for our imports we had to export almost all of our annual output of silver, so that very little was left for our home circulation. Thus we were almost constantly suffering from a contraction of currency; money became very high, and the price of labor was very low. But now the conditions are reversed. The low price of silver abroad makes it unprofitable to export it, and its value at home makes it useful in all industries, and we send out our agricultural products to pay for our imports and for our gold obligations, keeping at home our silver and thus increasing our circulation, so that we now have an ample supply of money in our banks. That fact, of course, stimulates industry, maintains the prices and increases the demand for labor.

7th. Most of our millionaires and many other Mexicans having large fixed incomes preferred to live in Europe, and used to spend their money there, but the higher rate of exchange has reduced their incomes so materially that a great many of them have returned home, and now spend their incomes in Mexico.

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The disadvantages brought to Mexico by the silver standard are the following.

1st. Importations are considerably reduced, because foreign commodities almost duplicate their price when sold for silver, and they are therefore beyond the reach of the middle classes.

2d. The constant fluctuation in the market price of silver contributes still more than the low price of that metal to reduce Mexican importations of foreign commodities, because it makes uncertain the value of these commodities when the time for payment arrives.

3d. The reduction of imports alluded to diminishes in proportion the import duties, which, until very recently, were in Mexico the largest source of the federal revenue.

4th. The national expenses are considerably increased by the payment in gold of the interest of the national debt held abroad, and other expenses of minor account, such as salaries of diplomatic and consular officials. As we have to buy exchange to pay that interest it is at the present rate actually increased from 6 per cent. to 12 per cent., when paid in gold. But we can now purchase exchange from our own people, drawn against their own agricultural exports, and they make some of the profit.

It would seem easy for Mexico to overcome these difficulties by decreeing the payment in gold of the whole or of a portion of its import duties; but such a scheme would establish two different kinds of currency in Mexico, and gold being more valuable would tend to depreciate our silver currency with disadvantage to all interests in the country. There is another serious objection to that plan; our import duties are already so high that they do not admit of any further increase. If we collected them in gold, we would have to reduce them to about fifty per cent. of the present rates, now payable in silver, and then we would have gained nothing while we would have increased the drawbacks of the fluctuations in the price of silver bullion; while if we left the import duties at or about their present rates, and made them payable in gold, we would practically duplicate them and they would become so burdensome as to afford great encouragement to smuggling, and so reduce very considerably their proceeds.

5th. To meet the reduction on the import duties and the increased expenses of the gold obligations, it is indispensable to increase the burdens of direct taxation to make up for both losses.

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6th. Our railroads are similarly affected. They collect their freights in silver, but pay in gold the interest on their securities, and for foreign articles needed for their roads.

7th. The transportation of foreign commodities by railroads is much reduced, but the local traffic has increased in a way not only to compensate that loss but to leave a large surplus.

8th. While the price of the necessaries of life for the poor classes who do not consume foreign commodities, has not increased, unless in a small number of home products whose price is fixed by foreign gold markets, the living expenses of the middle and rich classes who use foreign commodities have been increased.

There are several other results produced in Mexico through our having a silver standard; but I have mentioned the most notable and important ones, and most of the others omitted by me are the results of those already pointed out.

In consequence of all these causes, we have fewer business failures than other countries; our internal traffic has greatly increased with much benefit to our railroads, which, with only one exception, have not gone into the hands of receivers.*

We do not suffer in Mexico from one of the principal causes of the present financial distress in other countries,—the low price of agricultural products. In fact, in some cases the price of domestic commodities has gone up considerably, when it is fixed by the value of the commodity in gold markets. This is the case

* The condition of our railroads appears very clearly from the following extract of Mr. Raoul's report to which I have already alluded:

"A comparison of the traffic with last year shows that with the exception of passengers, a loss has been suffered only on those classes that are affected by the condition of the exchange market between Mexico and gold standard countries. The local traffic, which fairly is a register of the internal trade, has made satisfactory progress—sufficient to offset the losses on the external traffic, and yield the increase shown in the general result."

The Mexican Northern Railroad paid for the year ending June 30, 1893, four quarterly dividends of 1½ per cent. each, and one extra dividend of 2 per cent., amounting altogether to $240,000.

The annual report of the Mexican International Railway Company, for the year ending December 31, 1894, presented by its President, Mr. C. P. Huntington, and dated at New York City on March 6, 1895, is not less satisfactory.

"The net results from the year's operations," says Mr. Huntington, "show an increase in the gross earnings of $118,187.45, or 5.76 per cent., and a decrease in operating expenses of $19,578.50, or 1.50 per cent., making a total gain of $137,765.96, or 18.38 per cent., over 1893. This is quite a gratifying showing, when it is considered that the general business depression in the United States, and the low price of silver have not been without their unfavorable effect upon the year's business."

The report of the Mexican Central Railway Company, Limited, for the year ending December 31, 1894, shows that the gross earnings were $8,426,025.28, and the operating expenses $5,459,675.13, leaving an increase of $120,762.51 in the net earnings in that year over those in the previous one. The local freight earnings in 1893 amounted to $3,888,952 98, an increase of $616,377.78, or, 18.83 per cent. over 1892. In 1894 they amounted to $4,697,433.53, an increase over 1893 of $808,480.55, or 20.79 per cent., an increase in the two years of $1,424,858.33, or 43.54 per cent.

The banks, too, yield good dividends. From the report of the Bank of London and Mexico for 1894, it appears that the dividend in that year was of 10 per cent., and that it is expected to pay in the present year a dividend of 15 per cent.

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with coffee, for instance. As the largest portion of our crop is exported and commands cash, its price is fixed by its value in gold markets, and in consequence of this its price in Mexico has been almost duplicated with great advantage to the producers.

We have more stability of prices, wages, rents, etc. Although our wages are low, there has been in recent years a marked tendency to their increase. Our factories are not only in operation, but they are being greatly extended, and new plants and industries are being established. Instead of dismissing our laborers, we find occupation for them all, and we need to import them for the work to be done in some localities, and, as our laborers find occupation and increased wages, we have no strikes. Our silver mines have not stopped work, and we find them yet quite profitable. We have more ready money with which to transact our increased business; we offer greater inducements to foreign investors than formerly; and the country is undoubtedly more prosperous than it has ever been, although the silver standard is not the only cause of our prosperity. One of its principal causes is, undoubtedly, the building of railroads, but they could not have been so remunerative without the production and coinage of silver.

Summing up the effects produced in Mexico by the silver standard, I can say, with perfect correctness, that while it is a drawback and an inconvenience to have our currency depreciated when we have to use it abroad, either to pay for foreign merchandize or for the interest of our gold obligations, and while that depreciation increases our burdens to some extent, because our gold obligations and the price of foreign commodities are nearly duplicated, the advantages we derive from the use of silver money in all our transactions are so great, that I think they fully compensate if they do not overcome its disadvantages. Notwithstanding all this we would like to see silver commanding the same price as before it was demonetized in 1873, and we think that the world has to come back sooner or later to bimetallism, as the only way to have a common and more stable level of values and to avoid most of the financial trouble which the commercial nations of the world are now so keenly suffering.

M. Romero.

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SOME THOUGHTS ON CANADA.

BY THE MARQUIS OF LORNE, K. T.; FORMERLY GOVERNOR-GENERAL OF CANADA.

CANADA and the States are united, not only by railroad systems, but by the generous feelings which ever reside in the breasts of manly neighbors. Canada is too peaceful and too quietly advancing on her own path of happy progress not to sympathize to the full with the quicker moving populations across the fresh water seas. In the troubles of the United States, a generation ago, many thousands of Canadian citizens fought for the North. In the homes of Canada, as in Illinois, many a hearth was desolated by the loss of a beloved member of the family through the Confederate bullets. Canadians share in the United States' prosperity, nourish no envy, and are content with the great territories which have been assigned to them by Providence to develop. They have enough to do at home, and have perfect confidence that they will be able to do that which destiny apportions to them. Their own progress has been very quiet. Some persons say that it has been so quiet that there has been no life in it. But they are mistaken. The settlers who have gone to that northern land have gone there to stay. They have gone there because they prefer its freer institutions, and like the certainty of its climate, its health-giving air, and freedom from political trouble, whether it be of race, of labor, of over-production, or of great contrast between rich and poor. They like it because it happens to be a land whose wealth is perhaps more evenly distributed than that of any great free community elsewhere. They prefer it because it has a glorious history connecting it with events which have given a dignity to the past. They see that the popular will finds immediate expression and effect through its constitution. They find that, although there are great autonomous provinces,

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where local ambition and desires find full scope, the authority of the Federal and National Government is obeyed. They see that the central authority keeps in its own hand all military power, and that no local ambition has control of the militia. They have behind their national power the naval might of Britain, with her prestige and force to add to their own in case of danger, and her example and her friendly counsel to guide and assist them.

They are in alliance with, not in dependence on, the old country. They have themselves proved their own patriotism, and they have gained a place among the nations of the world. They make their own commercial arrangements in concert with the Imperial power. They have a position unique as it is enviable. In art, in industry, in literature, and in national life, whether shown by their success in great public works or by the ordered advance of their town and country populations, they have made immense progress since they united in the Dominion. They have triple signs of success in the variety of their territories. There are the eastern forests and farms, the central prairies, rich, and healthy, and full of coal; the western "slope," with its alps and woods, minerals, and the wondrously beautiful seaboard. What wonder if they see with equanimity that others do not grasp as yet the ideas they have realized in their possession of so much good? They can afford to labor and to wait, for each decade makes hope grow into assurance, and disperses doubt among themselves. In London there is now instituted an annual festival on the 1st of July, to commemorate the federation of the northern colonies, now the provinces of the Dominion. It was only two years ago that the first of these celebrations in the Imperial capital was held. Twenty-five years only had elapsed since that great instrument of union had been passed. At the last of these commemorations the present able High Commissioners of Canada to Great Britain were present, and among the guests was Lord Norton, now a man past eighty years of age, who had been in office in London when the first steps were taken to pass through the Imperial Parliament the Act of 1867, which formulated the constitution of the young Dominion. As Sir Charles Adderly, he had done all he could do in former days to assist the project. And now, looking back at that time, after an interval of twenty-seven years, he, a staunch Tory, was able to say how much he rejoiced in the new departure,

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and how all that had been done in the making of an infant nation had been done at that nation's own wish, and by that nation's own representatives. By Canadians was Canada's constitution arranged, and by Canadians has it been perfected, and made to work with a smoothness and success unprecedented, where so many strange conditions had to be met, and so much that required self-restraint and power of self-government to be carried out.

Neighbors are sometimes supposed to be the last to see that which is being done near them, and, indeed, under their eyes; but we are sure that the good wishes of our American cousins are with us, for our task is similar to theirs, and the difference of the method is a difference that can lead to no estrangement, but, on the contrary, tend to the friendship between the two constitutional governments, which it is the desire and object of every Canadian to cherish and reinforce.

The Germans have a habit of averting misfortune by pronouncing the word "*unberufen*," or "let it not be called down on me," when they have been able to boast of good luck, and do not wish to share the bad. Let us also say "*unberufen*" and tap the table three times, as is the peculiar German method of making friends with good fortune, when we record that, as yet, Canada has had no marked experience of troubles between labor and capital. When, as at Montreal and Quebec, there has been some slight tendency in past days in that direction, the tendency has been rather imported by strangers from the south than by the action of her own sons. Undoubtedly the influence of the Roman Church in the Eastern Provinces, and notably in Quebec Province, has been to prevent such outbreaks. Nowhere does the Catholic priesthood exhibit a greater power, or use it better to further the ends of law and order, peace and religion. Yes, as yet there has been very little of the fierce feeling which in other lands has grown up between the man who works with his hands and the men who work with their brains. All will undoubtedly, in the "long run," come right where these contests occur, but how long will the "long run" be, and what mischief and misery may be done until the light of reason and reasonableness subdues the darkness of hate and envy? Alas! we cannot tell. The position of Canada has, in one respect, been very fortunate. She is more a rural than an urban nation. Her towns, in proportion to the landed population, are small, and

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farmers do not "make hay" of capital, but are only too glad if capital comes to them to buy the hay after it is made, or will even give a promise to buy it while the crop is still on the ground. The Northern Provinces are communities of "Grangers," and Grangers must have railroads in good working order to transport their produce, or else they can't "get along" at all.

Yet a little movement against one curious form of "capital" has been participated in by workers of both Canada and the United States of late. Luckily, the central authorities on both sides of the line can in this case easily hold their own. I allude to the movement against the fur seals. These capitalists can hide away their treasure altogether if too roughly handled, and labor has determined to handle them so roughly that, like capitalists elsewhere, these marine wealth-bearers threatened to remove from their former haunts, if not from public life itself. The question put by the workers as to whether the problem of a fur seal's possessing its own skin was one that required the blunderbuss of the armed cruisers of three Powers and an international civil trial at Paris to settle, was, needless to say, mainly settled by the eloquence of an Irishman. Most of the sealers were Americans. Most of those who defended the seals were lawyers, and as no general railway strike could be brought to bear in favor of the enemies of the wealthy seals, they will still be allowed to propagate their species, although the word species has a suspicious likeness to "specie," which everyone knows means capital. The Americans contended that seals should be free in the open sea. But then they denied that the open sea was open sea, a contention so Hibernian that the Irishman had no difficulty in confuting it.

He was made Chief Justice of England, and the seals got a time in the year when they, like Irish landlords, should not be shot or killed at all, at all. This all reads like a fairy story, but it is an impartially told bit of history, and only noticed here because some people sought to make the affair a cause of quarrel between friends, that is, between Canadians, Americans, and British. There is plenty of room for all three on the sea, as on the land, and even on the great lakes. In those inland seas it is for the interest of both to have good salvage arrangements in case of wreck. Wherever there is chance of any disaster causing loss of life, the Canadian Government has issued orders which have for many

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years prevented misunderstandings. These formerly arose more from the idea that on the northern side the arrangements for assisting vessels in distress were not efficient, than from any fact which could nourish apprehension.

Conciliation and arbitrament is practically always at hand, so long as the present intimate connection between Britain and her colonies exists. The authorities in "Downing Street" are sufficiently removed from the scene of local disagreement to be able to keep themselves unentangled by any mere accidental bitterness imparted into a dispute. Reference to them means the lapse of a little time to let the disputants sleep and think over the matter in quiet, and the friendly advice given "from home" is well received in the main, and if not always quite satisfactory to the colonists, is recognized as an honest attempt to adjust disputes, and to act as *amicus curiæ* in a manner likely to lead to friendly settlement. Would that trade disputes could find as efficient an intermediary—as respected a tribunal—as conciliatory a court of arbitration! The mere gain of time is much, when passion is excited; and, if the interval gained can be spent in reflection instead of inaction, the disputants would have little chance of coming to blows.

To any person who has followed the course of events, it must have been a matter of some surprise to see a great conference called together at Ottawa, and representatives from many colonies there assembled, the mother country being herself represented by special envoy. The Governor-General, who permanently during his five or six years' term of office, is the delegate of the old country, was not considered sufficient, and the Earl of Jersey, a former Governor of one of the Australian colonies, was sent to Ottawa as the British envoy. These facts of themselves show a marked change from the days when it was held in London that Westminster could legislate for Upper and Lower Canada. A still wider divergence from the ancient ideas of the rights of the northern country is, of course, seen when it is remembered how a century ago taxes for general defence were imposed in London and resisted by arms at Boston. But not only is it impossible now for Great Britain to impose any tax on the colonies, but it is also impossible for her to prevent them from taxing by customs duties her trade. Canada may impose any duties she pleases on British goods. Never before in the history of the world has a

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parent state given up even the idea of a remonstrance on such a subject.

But it must be remembered that it is to the teaching of the most distinguished of all the British political economists, that Canada owes her defence of her system of imposing duties on imports for revenue, and even for the purpose of protecting and nursing her manufactures. Mill expressly declared that there were cases where such an expedient might be necessary to allow of the growth in a new country of manufactories. Whether defensible or not, by a purely philosophic argument, there is no doubt that every rising nation will naturally proceed to such imposts on goods not made at home, but which may be produced at home. A young country tries as soon as possible to be represented in all departments of national existence, and to have home-made articles in preference to those made out of the country. There is, therefore, little use in arguing the point. But one thing is arguable, and that is the contention of British economists that all that is produced under protection is produced at much heavier cost, and with a less satisfactory result. I remember Lord Kimberly declaring that Ontario now had to buy at increased price the plows she used at home, and that those made by her people were inferior to those she formerly bought at a cheaper rate from New York. But there was no doubt that a comparison of prices and a comparison of goods showed that after a very brief interval the Canadian manufacturer had turned out as good and as cheap an article as that formerly sent into the country from the States.

It was so with an article in another part of the Dominion. I do not know if the British Columbians were more fond of soap than the rest of their kinsfolk to the east or south of them. But anyway they used to buy all their soap at San Francisco. The change in the tariff cut them off from the 'Frisco soap, and the mountains, before the Canadian Pacific Railroad was made, from the soap lovers of the east. They set about to make their own soap, and very soon their soap cleansed, at the old price of the "foreign" soap, every hand in the Colony. I took special pains to verify this soap story, and it will wash! The truth is that things easily made and easily carried can be made at home in most countries as cheaply as they can be made anywhere. It is only where long transport adds to the price that the effect of protective duties is severely felt.

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Now, it is quite possible that in time and for certain common purposes, Britain's colonies will ask her to reconsider her position, and to see if some articles cannot be added to a revenue list on which some small tax shall be laid. The money is wanted for common purposes, and if one section of our empire says that it is too much in love with the philosophers' stone of free trade ever to change it for the cash of mutual good, there a "question" will also arise, which will give rise to some valuable weighing of balances of advantage. I don't know whether any of the States of America will ever think it necessary not only to have their armed militia under their separate and "sovereign" control, but also to make their state frontiers the boundaries for different tariff arrangements. That is about the position of the British Empire at the present day. The sentiment for alliance is held to be so strong that it makes light of these little pecuniary matters, but they are serious if left to fructify into widely different fruits. You have the same with regard to local taxation in the States, and that local taxation maintains armed militia forces, so that you need not labor too much to see the similarity in the position of the two great English-speaking nations. But a likeness does not make the matter much better, and the United States is in advance of the British Empire in that it has common taxes for common purposes.

Now this conference at Ottawa was in some respects a remarkable development. There was something very new even in the locality where it was held. I remember my father coming back from a Cabinet council and telling us boys that the capital of the new Dominion of Canada had been fixed, and that the name of the town which was about to receive this unexpected honor was By Town or Ottawa. We tried to find the town in our maps of America, and failed to find it. The place was not considered worth notice. At the conference delegates from all Anglo-Saxondom, except the United States, came there to discuss mutual support, and how intercommunication had best be carried on by steamer and ocean telegraph lines, and, further, how best these communications could be defended, and how the funds could be raised to provide for that defence. Wide questions, indeed, opening up many subjects which, as the French say, "give to think!" There were Australians asking how they could co-operate in laying a cable that should bind together

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the British-American Pacific coast with the Southern Island Continent. There were Africanders who knew that "Good Hope" rested with that "Cape" Government, which means to have domination in the future "from the Cape to Cairo." Big words, truly, but what is to prevent their realization? Already "The Cape" means a federation extending to the Zambesi, and although these States have with them the "negro question" in a more wholesome and aboriginal form than that which exists in America, the success of the Dutch race has proved that in mere power of multiplication the blacks will not have it all their own way in Southern Africa. But what were these opponents of Zulus and Kaffirs doing in the head-quarters of Legislation and Lumber Trade? They were sent by a very remarkable man, Mr. Cecil Rhodes, who has lately been giving the old country politicians a "bit of his mind." Holding, as he did, he said, that the future government of this world was a question of tariff, he thought it a good opportunity to make a condition that the duties on British manufactures should not be higher than the duties at present imposed in the South African Customs Union. The best return a colony could make to the English people for their support, and help, and the protection that their navy furnished, would be to allow their manufactured goods to pass at a fair rate. Englishmen spent their whole time in Parliament on local matters, but the big question of the trade of the people they neglected. See the action of the United States, of France and of Russia, who have all been devising schemes for shutting out England by protective and prohibitive tariffs. Yet the extraordinary thing is that when the English people are offered the privilege that south of the Zambesi their goods shall be admitted forever on a fair basis, their rulers absolutely refuse it. Yet we know that the states south of the Zambesi will join in one system and that they will grant this right forever to British goods.

And as it is with the South African plans for co-operation, so it is with others hinted at, or formulated, by other colonies. England, as yet, sticks to her shibboleth of receiving everything without placing any duty on goods unless it be on tobacco or spirits. She treats all alike. Her children over sea have no advantage over the stranger. It is for her children at home only that she thinks. She declares, indeed, that the children over sea ought to

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do as she does. But at the same time she confesses that they are old enough to know their own minds, and "what is more she can't prevent them from having opinions of their own, and acting on them." They in Canada, in Australia, and in the Cape stretch hands to the old mother and cry: "Treat us as your children, and give our goods some advantage in your market, and we will fight for you." As yet England turns a deaf ear to this cry. Perhaps some day she may find that she must purchase her distant children's active support at a higher price than that she would be obliged to pay now. A higher price? How is that possible? Ask the Free Traders, with Mr. Gladstone until lately at their head as Prime Minister, and now their retired but still consulted oracle. Foreign countries, says the oracle, would at once retaliate against England were she to place any duty on their goods heavier than that placed on England's own children. The bulk of England's trade, he continues, comes from abroad. Therefore, we must run no risk of offending the foreigner. To such fears it is useless to point out that the foreigner, like the Englishman, thinks only of what is best for himself. His duties are as high and only as high as he thinks it will be profitable to himself to have them.

The only way to raise such all-round selfishness into a sense of the necessity of union is to show that persistence in extreme dogma must bring isolation in times of danger as well as in times of peace. This will gradually be brought to the front, in all probability, by united pressure on the part of some of the children of the mother of nations, who, like the old lady in the nursery tale, has so many children she don't know what to do, and as she can't "whip them all soundly and send them to bed," she will probably have to put up with some of their ideas and "behave according." This is the chief meaning of this first Imperial Parliament, or Council of Ministers, held where the Algonquin and Iroquois used to fish beside the spray shot forth by the falls of the "Chaudière." There is not much chance that the modern fishermen there assembled will hook fish too large for them to handle. The good sense which has made these young nations so successful will be answered by the moderation always inherent in the statesmen "at home," however far they may see fit to drive dogma to "please the gallery" for a time, for the "gallery" is the source from which the young nations have come, and are even now being daily reinforced in numbers, and the crowd in that gallery can understand

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their children better than the "swells in the boxes" or even the actors on the stage. The balance of advantage must always turn in favor of union, though it may cost some present sacrifice to secure ultimate good.

But we have digressed from the purely Canadian question into that with which it is indissolubly connected—the wider problem of the actions of the English-speaking races. There is little doubt that were it not for the school books which teach young America that Britain was a tyrant, we might have the wider Union to embrace America. Once old Lord Lindsay, himself a noted historian, was dilating to Lord Overton on the use of historical knowledge. "History!" said Lord Overton. "What is the use of history, Lindsay? It only keeps people apart by reviving recollections of enmity." I have often thought of how much truth there is in this. But if the great financier, Lord Overton, said this with some truth, could we not teach our boys another kind of history? Could we not make each school, through its history books, a means of showing how our race can be kept together by united finance arrangements? Could we not make boys see that strength is not gained by recollections of Old World and antique oppression, but that by arbitration, conciliation, and conferences, means may be found to write a new history of English-speaking people's advance, along roads which shall be illuminated by hope in the future instead of darkened by the forgettable enmities of the past?

LORNE.

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PERSONAL HISTORY OF THE SECOND EMPIRE.

VI.—THE RENOVATION OF PARIS.

BY ALBERT D. VANDAM, AUTHOR OF "AN ENGLISHMAN IN PARIS," "MY PARIS NOTE-BOOK," ETC., ETC.

THERE appears to be a kind of poetical justice in the enjoyment Americans derive from their stay in Paris, for according to Napoleon III. himself the idea of transforming the capital *en bloc* and at one time was suggested to him by one of their countrymen. Truly, all the rulers before Napoleon III. had attempted to improve the capital both architecturally and hygienically, but those improvements were conceived and executed piecemeal, with the result that the city, in the pre-Haussmannic days, was like Mr. Wilfer in *Our Mutual Friend;* it had never worn a complete new suit of clothes. It is doubtful whether Paris had any such ambition, even the proposals in olden times to endow it with a new monument, a public square, or a street, having always met with most strenuous opposition on the plea of expense. The Parisians of Louis XIV.'s reign lampooned and criticised that monarch and his architect Mansart, as their successors lampooned and criticised Napoleon III. and his Prefect of the Seine, with this difference, that the subjects of "*le Roi-Soleil*" merely looked at the financial consequences of the proposed reforms, while the subjects of Louis Napoleon professed to be swayed in their opposition by loftier considerations than those of money only. When Mansart got frightened at the enormous outlay involved in his royal master's plans, and more or less "muddled" in his own accounts, Louis XIV. told him to "go on building; if you run short of funds, I will advance the money; the foreigner is sure to reimburse us."

Napoleon III.'s faith in the foreigner's willingness to pay liberally for the attractions provided for him was probably as

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strong as that of the Bourbon, but he did not possess the private wealth of the latter to back his faith. Nevertheless, he virtually took a leaf from the *grand monarque's* book, but slightly transposed the text. "Go on building," he said to Haussmann; "the foreigner will reimburse the funds expended, but you must ask the Parisians to advance them." The two Bonapartes who ruled over France never disguised their admiration for the Bourbons; in several instances they revived the latter's miscarried or uncompleted legislation. Some one having remarked to Berryer: "*Louis Napoléon veut faire le lit de Henri IV.;*" the eminent barrister replied: "*Au moins il ne lui manquera pas de paillasses.*"* Népomucène Lemercier, the greatest dramatist of the First Empire and the sometime friend of Napoleon I., was more direct, though perhaps less scathing in his strictures on the Emperor's imitation of his predecessors, especially in matters of ceremonial. "*Vous vous amusez à refaire le lit des Bourbon; vous n'y coucherez pas,*" he told him to his face. Lemercier's ire had been provoked by the golden bees on the Imperial mantle of the French Cæsar. He thought they were an imitation of the golden lilies of the *ancien régime;* while in fact, the golden lilies were an imitation of the golden bees on the mantles of the Frankish kings. But the bees had been forgotten for centuries, until a French *stadtholder* of the Southern Netherlands unearthed one of those cloaks at Tournay and presented it to Louis XIV. Napoleon I. found it in a cupboard in the Tuileries, and adopted the bees to oust the lilies.

"The voice of the people may be the voice of God," said Napoleon III. one day to my grand-uncle when alluding to the Parisians' criticisms on his transformation of their city; "the voice of the people may be the voice of God, but the ditties the people yell, rather than sing, are assuredly composed by Satan. When a ruler does nothing for them they shout about *un roi fainéant;* when a ruler attempts to do something for them, they misinterpret his motives, unless they invent some which are altogether foreign to his thoughts. At this present moment the opponents of my plans have adopted the cry that I am attempting to do too much at once, and that this attempt is prompted by my wish to hold all Paris in the palm of my hand by means of broad thoroughfares, in which large masses of troops can move freely and

* *Paillasse* means both a pallet and a clown, or mountebank.

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cannon play effectually. Another section of society accuses me of wishing to reduce Paris to a mere city of pleasure, and make it the resort of all the profligates and idlers—titled and untitled, rich and poor, honest and dishonest—of the whole world. That, according to the last-named critics, is my method for stifling the nation's aspirations towards a higher standard of political liberty. If I had adopted Louis XIV.'s and my uncle's system of improving the capital bit by bit, the outcry and objections would have been just the same, though different reasons might have been alleged for them. You who have read the memoirs dealing with the reign of Louis XIV. and the First Empire know this as well as I do. But no shouting nor objections will prevent me from carrying out my plans wholesale. I made up my mind to that effect long ago. You asked me just now for a government situation for one of your *protégés* who is possessed of considerable talent, but if he has talent why does he not use it properly, instead of wasting it in a government office at the rate of 1,200 francs a year?" asked the Emperor, apparently going off at a tangent.

For a moment or so my uncle was at a loss for an answer, for he had asked himself the same question many a time in connection with the various candidates he had recommended to his Majesty.

"I suppose, sire," he said, at last, "that in spite of his talents, he is not clever." "Put it that way, if you like," remarked the Emperor; "I should say because he has got no imagination; for cleverness and imagination may in this instance be synonymous. From your description of the young fellow, I fancy he must be like a young fellow I met when I was in the United States—alike in every respect save in the possession of a strong imagination. Your young friend knows geometry, mathematics, surveying, and the rest; he has an inkling of architecture; and all that knowledge, which argues a considerable application on his part during his college days, he wishes to place at the disposal of the government in exchange for a stool and a salary of 1,200 francs at the *Ministère des Travaux Publics* (Board of Works). Well, the young American to whom I refer, and to whom I owe the idea of the wholesale transformation I am attempting, knew all these, though probably not so well as your young friend. But he did not apply to the United States Public Survey Office to help him

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to get a crust of bread on a stipend which would have provoked the scorn of nine-tenths of the working men in America. He wanted to live, not to vegetate. He was bent on making a fortune; and a twelve-month after my first meeting with him he was worth a couple of millions of dollars. He was poor and looked poor, so poor as to be frequently behindhand with the weekly payment at the boarding house in New York where we both stayed. But he never lost heart. One day he came in, an hour late for dinner, but with a big roll of paper under his arm. 'I am very sorry to be late, but I have got hold of my fortune to-day,' he said in the way of apology, pointing to the papers, which turned out to be the complete plans of a city for 40,000 inhabitants with its churches, its public squares, its monuments, etc., etc., including even an exchange. It looked like a fairy city, but the plans were nevertheless carefully worked out; it was the city of the future, such as I intend to have in France, if I live long enough. The young fellow had, however, done more than merely to draw an attractive city on paper; he had bought the site of it—of course conditionally; entered into contracts with builders, sanitary engineers, marble masons and landscape gardeners, and provided with those documents, applied to a couple of big bankers with a keen eye for possibilities. They were going to form a syndicate and the works were to be begun at once. That same evening I had a long conversation with the young fellow. 'So your town will rise like Thebes at the sound of Amphion's lyre?' I asked smilingly, for all this was very new to me. 'Mythology may be reduced to practice sometime,' he answered, 'but I do not suppose we shall be as magical as all that. One thing, however, is very certain. The whole of my plans will be started on the same day, and if possible will be completed within a few weeks of one another. We are not going to follow the example of Europe and build a street or half-a-street of houses at a time.'" Then the Emperor sat still for a moment or two. "You are considerably older than I am," he said at last to my uncle; "yet you may outlive me. When in days to come people tell you that Napoleon III. transformed Paris, you in your turn may tell them that he owed the idea to an American of whom Europe has probably never heard; for on the evening to which I refer, I made up my mind to do what I am doing, if ever I got the chance."

The Emperor was right; in spite of the fierce outcry against

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his plans everybody took advantage of them to line his own pockets. I am old enough to remember all this; for though I was not thirteen when I came to Paris, at which period the transformation of the capital was virtually in its first stages, it never ceased during the reign of Napoleon III., and as it went on, fraudulent speculation and corruption of every kind in connection with that transformation became more and more rife. With the exception of the Emperor himself, Fleury, Princesse Mathilde, and perhaps Haussmann, there was not a single person at the Tuileries, whether male or female, and from the highest to the lowest, who did not benefit materially and to a larger or smaller extent by the facilities afforded to them by their positions for surprising, worming out and intercepting early news of Haussmann's projects. Of course, the knowledge thus acquired had to be used cautiously and according to the possessor's means and opportunities. Few persons had the moneys wherewith to buy house property or land in the doomed quarters, and when they had such funds, they had to proceed warily, lest a show of too great anxiety should "let the cat out of the bag."

The construction of the Pont de l'Alma (albeit not under that name) was included from the very beginning in the Emperor's and Haussmann's plans. The entire transformation of the village of Chaillot, which for two hundred years previously had enjoyed the title of *faubourg*, had, however, not been decided upon publicly—although one moment's reflection on the part of those who did think must have shown them that logically, practically, and artistically the one measure would entail the other. The Pont de l'Alma was finished about the beginning of 1856, for I remember that I was taken to see it within a few months of my arrival in Paris. And yet, a couple of week's previously, my elder grand-uncle, coming home one day from the Tuileries, told his brother that the Empress had bought the mansion of Count Lauriston for her mother at a cost of three millions of francs. The fact of such a purchase, involving an outlay which must have appeared enormous to most people, especially in those days when hundreds and thousands of pounds were not mentioned in conversation with the unconcern of to day, was calculated to impress itself upon the mind of a lad of thirteen and particularly sharp for his age. Nevertheless, he would probably have forgotten all about it, but for the comments to which the purchase

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gave rise during the next week, which comments were revived about a twelvemonth or eighteen months later when the pickaxe began to do its work in Chaillot. The most lenient conclusion to those comments as affecting the purchaser herself was a consensus of opinion "that she was very clever; as clever as Louis Philippe who invented European complications—in order to contradict the reports, having meanwhile profited by the fall of public securities and their almost immediate restoration to public confidence."

I am not prepared to say whether the compliment to the Empress was genuine or not, but the transaction was unquestionably a profitable one. It would be difficult to compute the present value of the property off-hand; it is certainly worth four times the amount of its purchase-price forty years ago. The site of the erstwhile mansion of Count Lauriston and its immense gardens, which were but a small part of the estate of the Comte de Choiseul-Gouffier, have all been built on; the old-world village of Chaillot has become the very modern Quartier Marbœuf; the transformation took many years, but the Empress, as far as I am aware, did not part with her land. A mere ground lease for building purposes is a very unusual thing in France, so we may take it that the palatial dwellings which have been erected on the site of the Comtesse de Montijo's former town residence are part and parcel of the property.

"It is a decent provision for a rainy day," said my grand-uncle, in the latter years of the Second Empire, when, in spite of his personal affection for the Emperor, or just because of that affection, he began to doubt the stability of the Empire. "A decent provision for a rainy day," repeated Alexandre Dumas, the Elder, who happened to be seated by his side, and who neither liked the dynasty nor believed in its duration; "say an ark for the coming flood, and you will be nearer the mark." And forthwith there was a positive flood on his part of historical and literary anecdote in connection with the slowly rising Quartier Marbœuf. I feel perfectly certain that not one of those anecdotes has ever been published, and I should like to give them all, but the space at my disposal has been overstepped more than once, and I must not transgress again. At the time of this interesting and impromptu lecture—for it was nothing less, seeing that it lasted for nearly an hour—I was over twenty, and though already then fully

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confident of my memory, had begun to take notes. I have these by me now, and they would make two or three chapters. As it is, I must confine myself to an extract.

"It is very curious," began Dumas, "that as early as 1842 or 1843 Balzac foresaw the eventual transformation of the village of Chaillot into a fashionable quarter. As usual, he conceived a vast scheme for making money in connection with it by buying up the whole of the land. Equally as a matter of course, no one would embark in the enterprise. They treated the project, as they were in the habit of treating all Balzac's plans, as purely visionary. Visionary they no doubt were, including as they did, the publication of a gigantic edition of Balzac's works in separate volumes, each volume to have attached to it a ticket in a lottery, the prize in which was to be a plot of ground or a mansion. It would take too long to explain the whole of the complex project, but the presentiment with regard to the destiny of Chaillot was right enough. At any rate, one man to whom that presentiment had been communicated, believed in it and almost immediately acted upon the belief—namely, Emile de Girardin. In less than a twelvemonth afterwards he bought from M. May, the chaplin to the English Embassy, the former mansion of the Count de Choiseul-Gouffier, in the grounds of which there stood at that time a Protestant place of worship.

The scheme conceived by Balzac for buying up a whole neighborhood was even beyond the private resources of so highly-placed a personage as the Empress Eugénie; to form syndicates or limited companies to that effect, would have probably defeated its own purpose, for it would have let too many people into secrets which, I repeat, had in the majority of cases been unfairly got hold of. So the favored recipients of those secrets or merely clever eavesdroppers, instead of combining, determined to work each on his own account. Most of them were unable to raise sufficient funds wherewith to buy the smallest bit of house property; they merely sold their knowledge to the leaseholder of the dwelling, and he in his turn hastened to renew his lease. Of course, he was careful to keep his own counsel, lest the landlord, having too many applications for renewals at one time, should become suspicious and raise the rents. Repeated in six or seven different quarters, although with but one tenant in each, the sale of such information frequently yielded the considerable

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sum of between 200,000 and 300,000 francs to the vendor. I am not exaggerating in computing the moneys thus obtained at over one million sterling.

Practically this money came out of the coffers of the Paris Municipality, for it need scarcely be said that the lessees in their subsequent claims for compensation did not forget to reckon the sums disbursed in the purchase of their information, and do what they would the Municipality were found in the end powerless to resist those claims. The original intention on their part had been to let the majority of leases "fall in" before commencing operations in this or that quarter. Under such conditions the ground alone would have had to be paid for. The lessees, with their fresh leases locked in their desks, simply sneered at the Municipality's announced intention to exercise patience. They believed the Civic Fathers to be ignorant of the negotiations they (the lessees) had just concluded with their superior landlords. The Municipality were not as ignorant as the lessees thought them, and in spite of the obstacles thrown in their way repeated their intention to wait, although the period of waiting might be prolonged. Thereupon the lessees forced the Municipality's hand. They set up claims to the effect "that the intention to evict them at the expiration of their leases constituted an act of actual eviction entitling them to damages.* And preposterous though the contention seemed and seems, its validity was finally admitted by the highest tribunal in France.

This decision paved the way for a system of wholesale exaction and jobbery, the like of which it would be difficult to find in the annals of any modern community in Europe. Equally difficult would it be to find parallels to some of the claims for compensation except in the librettos of Mr. Gilbert and kindred writers. To begin with, there was the claim of the owner of the ground and dwelling, or of the ground only through which the new thoroughfares were to run. He was simply extortionate in virtue of his ownership. One case in point must suffice. One of those owners had as good as sold a plot of ground to a firm of hydraulic engineers for 75,000 francs, which sum he professed himself glad to accept. Pending the signing of the documents, he got wind of M. Haussmann's project of cutting a new thor-

* I have condensed the claim into non-legal language, but taken care to preserve the spirit of the plea.

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oughfare across what was still his property. He declined to ratify his bargain with the engineers, and eventually claimed 1,800,000 francs. The valuation-jury awarded him 950,000 francs. Then there was the claim of the principal tenant, who, as a rule, occupied the ground floor part of the premises, including the shop. He could not claim compensation for being disturbed in his actual tenancy, inasmuch as the Municipality had announced their intention not to disturb him; nevertheless, he claimed in virtue of the decision of the Court of Cassation, to which I alluded just now; and moreover magnified his claim on the plea of the prospective harm his heirs and successors would suffer. "But," objected the leading counsel for the Municipality, "if my instructions are correct, the claimant's lease which has just been renewed will not expire for another twelve years; the claimant is close upon seventy, his wife is but a few years younger. They will scarcely remain in business until they are eighty; and although they are unquestionably entitled to damages in virtue of the judgment of the Court of Cassation that judgment makes no provision for the hypothetical injury done to heirs or mere business successors. Besides, the former in this instance do not exist at all, seeing that the claimant is childless, and will in all probability remain so at his advanced age." To which the claimant's counsel made rejoinder: "My learned brother should not take it for granted that my client will go childless to his grave, because my client himself is far from cherishing such convictions; he belongs to the Hebrew race, and the miracle that was vouchsafed to Abraham and Sarah may be repeated in his favor, unless my learned brother wishes to imply that the age of miracles is past."

Finally, there was a category of tenants, mostly occupants of sets of apartments who claimed compensation on purely sentimental grounds. To recapitulate their alleged grievances one by one would lead me too far afield; one gentleman pleaded that his invalid daughter could see, from the windows of the apartment from which he was to be dislodged, the steeple of the church where her mother worshipped when a girl. The majority indulged in "tall talk" about "the roofs that had sheltered their fathers and the spot where their children's cradle stood." And though in reality three-fourths of those who talked thus had not even been born in Paris—for barely one-third of the Paris popu-

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lation are natives of the capital—the valuation-jury generally admitted their claims; ostensibly in order "to teach the government a lesson;" in reality because each of their decisions created a precedent by which they in their turn hoped to benefit at some future time.

This much about the doings of the valuation jury and claimants while they were both left to their own devices, expectations of immediate or contingent spoil, and so-called political independence. The latter feeling, however, was soon raised to the boiling-point by newspaper articles and pamphlets. Of one of these pamphlets I would say a few words, inasmuch as it was the work of the late Jules Ferry, at that time an obscure, and probably deservedly obscure, barrister, like so many other shining lights of the Third Republic that was to be. It was the most widely circulated; I doubt, however, whether throughout the whole of France there were a hundred people who read it from beginning to end, most people giving up the attempt after half a dozen pages, for it was dull to a degree, and what was worse, dull without being convincing, and, as the Emperor said, "dull under false pretenses." Its great sale was due to its clever title, a perversion of the title of the French version of Hoffmann's *Weird Tales—Les Contes Fantastiques d'Hoffmann.* M. Ferry had altered this into *Les Comtes Fantastiques d'Haussmann;* but the happy thought was due to two of Dufaure's secretaries, MM. Duval and Delprat, and M. Ferry's friends, who had hit upon it during a conversation at an Orleanist's social gathering, and made a present of the idea to the future Prime Minister, who died as President of the Senate. "After all," remarked Napoleon III., when he had read the *brochure,* "I am glad that M. Ferry's pamphlet is so dull; if it had been as brilliant as its title, M. Ferry would be in the painful position of having to bring an action for libel against his face and appearance." The remark was spiteful, but absolutely just. In those days Ferry was a cantankerous likeness of Offenbach. Later on the likeness grew less apparent, and the cantankerousness more. I used to meet him frequently on the boulevards in company with Hérold, the future Prefect of the Seine under the Third Republic, and the son of the celebrated composer of *Zampa* and *Le Pré aux Clercs,* who had been a friend of my grand-uncle. I liked Hérold, who had one of the most wonderful memories I have

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ever met with, but I always avoided him when Ferry was with him. My grand-uncle, seeing them together one day, exclaimed, "Here goes Zampa's heir in custody of a gendarme."

M. Ferry charged Haussmann with having purposely underrated the cost of his proposed improvements. "That is nominally true," said the Emperor, "but in reality Haussmann has not underrated the cost of the improvements, he has only underrated the greed of the Paris *bourgeois*, just as he would have underrated M. Ferry's impudence if he had attempted to transform him into a fair critic and a gentleman." The Emperor was right once more; the greed of the Paris tradesman and *bourgeois* burdened the budget of the capital with sixteen millions sterling in as many years, and this in addition to the reasonable indemnities which might have been claimed in virtue of the judgment of the Court of Cassation. At least 15 per cent. of these moneys stuck to the fingers of more or less unscrupulous lawyers, retained by shady and still more unscrupulous agencies, which for a minimum commission of 10 per cent. on all the sums wrung from the Municipality, set the machinery of the law in motion in behalf of the smallest and utterly unimportant shop-keepers—such as dairymen, fruiterers, greengrocers, coal-sellers, etc.—all of whom, but for those agents' instigation, would have removed to adjacent streets or adjacent premises without losing their customers. The organization of those agencies was little short of perfect; their recruiting of fraudulent auxiliaries strategic to a degree. One of those pseudo *hommes d'affaires*, with the successors of whom Paris swarms even at present, managed to get hold of about ten quires of old paper bearing the government stamp. Each of the sheets served for the making of a lease supposed to have been granted in 1850. He himself never put pen to paper; he simply sold each of the sheets to the various agencies in need of them at the rate of 10,000 francs apiece. The £100,000 sterling thus earned were all lost in Stock Exchange speculations, and after the fall of the Empire he boasted of what he had done. When the Commune exploded, he came to London and set up business as a wine-merchant; he is now leading a miserable and precarious existence in another capital of Europe.

Ante-dated leases, made with the connivance of both signatories to such documents, were, after all, but one wheel in the huge mechanism of fraud. The agencies provided false inventories,

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false balance-sheets, false sets of account-books, false stock in the shape of blocks of wood, neatly wrapped up and suitably labelled; they repainted and redecorated the shops of their clients; and for many weeks before and after the time appointed for the regulation visit of the valuation jury, the establishment was crowded with customers from morn till night, which sham customers were attended to by equally sham assistants, hired at the rate of three francs per day. In fact, no stage-manager of genius ever arranged his scenic effects with greater forethought than they.

It would be rash to pretend that all the lawyers those agencies employed were their accomplices; there were some honorable exceptions, and they were dupes. One of the latter was pleading one day in behalf of a grocer in a moderate way of business. Confidently flourishing the day-book of his client—for the agency frequently left the choice of a barrister to the claimant himself—he began to enumerate the customers, and asked for considerable damages. The counsel for the City of Paris interrupted him. "My learned brother need not trouble himself," he said; "I know that day-book by heart, it is the grocers' day-book; it has done duty already several times." As a matter of course, the "learned brother" grew very indignant, and proceeded to refute the allegation. "I am sorry to insist," replied his opponent, "but if you will turn to page 73, you will find my initials." The bare fact was this. During a previous trial, the amounts inscribed in that day-book, and quoted in support of an exorbitant claim, had struck the counsel for the City of Paris as being too exaggerated. A vague suspicion of the truth had dawned upon him then, and he had asked to look at the day-book itself, and while pretending to add up figures had quickly initialed the page. He felt almost convinced that he would meet with that account book again. But the claimant got his damages.

On the morning after this decision, the Emperor, contrary to his habit, was up betimes, and when Fleury went in to have his usual chat he found him dressed and ready to go out. A few minutes later, Haussmann, who had evidently been sent for, made his appearance. "You and I are going for a walk, *mon cher préfet*," was Napoleon's greeting. "I am afraid I only know my Parisian subjects theoretically, and I wish to get a little more practical knowledge of them. I will take another leaf from my uncle's book; he used to go for walks in the morning with

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Duroc, and he told my mother that one of those strolls was worth a hundred reports from Fouché. That was after he had been plainly given to understand that a ruler must pay through the nose for any and everything he wants for his personal use and gratification, and a still more extravagant price if the object he desires be intended for the benefit of the nation at large. I will tell you how it happened. He and Duroc were walking along one early morn, when in the window of a very small *bric-à-brac* shop my uncle noticed a bronze statuette, the companion of which was in the Louvre. 'What is the price of this bronze?' he asked of the dealer, who was perched aloft on a ladder, dusting the front of his place. 'Don't worry me,' growled the man, without troubling to look down or come down; 'you will find it too high for your pockets.' My uncle, who was in an amiable mood just then, insisted. 'Well, suppose I say four hundred francs, what then?' was the grudging answer. 'Then I should take it,' shouted my uncle; for the dealer had not stirred. This time he looked down and caught sight of my uncle's face. He descended immediately, but gave no further sign of having recognized him. His tone, however, altered. 'I said "suppose," monsieur; I was only joking; in reality it is two thousand francs.' 'Very well,' remarked the Emperor, 'I will take it at that.' 'I am afraid I cannot let you have it,' objected the man. 'A gentleman who saw it a few days ago told me that its companion statuette is in the Louvre, and if the authorities have set their minds on having it, I will not part with it for less than five thousand francs.' 'Do you know who I am?' said my uncle. The man stammered and turned pale. 'I see you do, and I mean to make you stick to your bargain. There is no more reason why you should rob the nation at large than why you should rob a private individual. I mean to have it at the price you asked me.'

"My uncle had the statuette, but I am not of my uncle's metal. I cannot force the Parisians to sell their houses at the price they would take from a private individual; but I must find a way of meeting craft and greed. Contact with the Parisian may suggest one. That is why I wish you to go for a walk."

ALBERT N. VANDAM.

(To be Continued.)

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NORDAU'S THEORY OF DEGENERATION.

I.—A PAINTER'S VIEW.

BY KENYON COX.

THE scientific value of Max Nordau's book, *Degeneration*, scientific men may determine. I can only give the impressions of an unscientific person on that part of the work which deals with his own specialty.

A painter with classical tendencies—one who admires Raphael and still respects even Gérôme—is likely to open Nordau's volume with some anticipations of enjoyment. A scientific demonstration of the mental unsoundness of the "Impressionists" and the "*Rose Croix*" appeals to him as perhaps plausible and not undesirable, and "degenerate," "hysteric," "mattoid" are beautiful names to hurl at the artists of the "Yellow Book" or the sensation hunters of the *Champs de Mars*. If it can be proved that tendencies in painting which seem to him morbid and unhealthy are really the result of disease, his cause is gained. He, therefore, begins to read Nordau's book with sympathetic attention and perfect willingness to be convinced. The sympathy does not last long. One may be a classicist and out of touch with much that passes for art to-day, but one is still an artist and is shocked to find that the "great majority of the middle and lower classes" are declared to possess all that is left of mental soundness in a decaying age and that this soundness is said to show itself in the fact that "the Philistine or the Proletarian still finds undiluted satisfaction in the old and oldest forms of art . . . he contemplates gladly chromos of paintings depicting Munich beer-houses and rustic taverns, and passes the open-air painters without a glance." If "the grateful *clientèle* of the chromo" is to be the judge of sanity we artists are all in the same boat together. The argument is proving altogether too much for our comfort

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and it behooves us to keep a sharp watch on the reasoning which leads to so unpleasant a conclusion. The noble and austere art of Puvis de Chavannes is set down as the work of a degenerate beside that of the "stipplers" or the symbolists. What is the argument and what are the mental characteristics of the man who would have us accept so preposterous a result?

The characteristics of Mr. Nordau which strike one most forcibly are, in the order in which one perceives them, these: violence of language, arrogance, inaccuracy, inconsistency, lack of humor, and total inability to comprehend art. The first two characteristics are so evident everywhere, from the first page to the last, that it is hardly necessary to point out special instances of them. The fragments which I shall cite for other purposes will supply more than a sufficiency of examples of violence. The crowning example of arrogance I reserve for the last. Let me then take up his other traits one by one, and justify by quotations what Mr. Nordau would call my "diagnosis."

The school of painting on which he expends the greatest amount of space is the English Pre-Raphaelite school. This is somewhat like slaying the dead, but no matter. His account of the formation and doctrines of that school is full of misstatements.

"In the year 1843 . . . Ruskin began to publish the feverish studies on art which were subsequently collected under the title of *Modern Painters*." (P. 78).

Modern Painters was not a collection of studies "feverish" or otherwise.

"The Pre-Raphaelites, who got all their leading principles from Ruskin." (P. 81).

This has been disproved again and again. Ruskin took up the movement and explained it after it was started, and his account of its doctrines was never accepted by the leaders.

"They, however, raised it to the position of a fundamental principle, that in order to express devotion and noble feeling the artist must be defective in form." (P. 81).

This nonsense is Nordau's own. No such principle was ever announced by the Pre-Raphaelite Brotherhood as that artists should be deformed, or even (which is what he means to say) that they should be unable to draw.

"His (Rossetti's) father gave him the name of the great poet at his entrance into the world, etc." (P. 86).

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His father did nothing of the kind. In 1847 Rossetti still signed himself "Gabriel Chas. Rossetti."* He adopted the "Dante" later, and all Nordau's argument of the influence of his name upon his character falls to the ground.

Apparently our author can be accurate in nothing. He speaks of the "P. R. B. exhibition" in 1849 as if it were a separate exhibition of the Brotherhood alone (p. 70) and states twice that Rossetti "soon exchanged the brush for the pen." He cannot even describe a picture correctly, for he says that the figure of Christ in Holman Hunt's "Shadow of the Cross" "is standing in the Oriental *attitude of prayer* . . . the shadow of his body falling *on the ground*" (p. 85). Both the statements I have italicized are untrue.

Now for his inconsistency. Among the proofs he relies on for his statement that "Ruskin's theory is in itself delirious," and that Ruskin is a "degenerate," are the well known contradictions of that author. He takes up one of them and shows that Ruskin is absurd in that he demands of the painter on one page the blindest copying of nature, while on another he admits the existence of the typical or ideal form which it is the business of the painter to recognize and reproduce. Will it be believed that Nordau proceeds to fall into the same contradiction himself?

"Only one of these mutually exclusive statements can be true," says he, on page 83. "Unquestionably it is the former." And he proceeds to make his own that doctrine of absolute fidelity to fact, which is the worst feature of Ruskin's teaching. "The ideal form is an assumption. . . . To exclude individual features from a phenomenon as unessential and accidental, and to retain others as intrinsic and necessary, is to reduce it to an abstract idea. The work of art, however, is not to abstract, but to individualize." Yet on p. 333, where he is trying to prove something else, he says: "Next, the work of art grants an insight into the laws of which the phenomenon is the expression; for the artist, in his creation, separates the essential from the accidental . . . divines the idea behind the structure . . . and discloses it in his work to the spectator." It is not often that any one can be so superbly inconsistent as this; but the way in which diametrically opposite symptoms prove the same disease seems strange to the unscientific mind. "Red," says our author,

*William Bell Scott, *Autobiographical Notes*, etc., vol. 1, p. 244.

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"is dynamogenous, hence it is intelligible that hysterical painters revel in red. . . . Violet is conversely enervating and inhibitive. . . . This suggests that painters suffering from hysteria . . . will be inclined to cover their pictures uniformly with" violet. Blue and yellow are "the very two colors the sensations of which in hysterical amblyopia endure the longest," so that a fondness for them is also a sign of degeneration. Do not imagine, however, that the love of neutral tints is any better. The "whitewash of Puvis de Chavannes," the "problematical vapor, reeking as if with a cloud of incense," of Carrière, or the "ditchwater and dissolved clay" of Raffaelli, are signs of an even more completely diseased state than are the "grass-green hair" and "faces of sulphur-yellow"—the "revolutionary debauch of color"—of Besnard.

Mr. Nordau's lack of humor is shown again and again in his fury at "witticisms." One of the great signs of mental degeneration, according to him, is the tendency to perpetrate these.

Nordau's insensibility to art is shown in many ways. He never praises any artist, be he poet, painter or musician, except those whose reputation is so firmly established as to be beyond all cavil. Shakespeare and Goethe and Beethoven he says he admires, but there is no word to show that he has ever cared for anything in art except what a man may not despise in the face of the world without being a self-confessed barbarian. What he does praise or admire in art is almost always successful imitation. In painting he sees "a sensuously agreeable impression of beautiful single colors (!), and happily combined harmonies of color," but there is no sign that beauty of line or fine composition has ever appeared to him to exist. "An illusion of reality together with the consciousness that it is an illusion" are "the higher and more intellectual pleasures" to be derived from the contemplation of works of art (p. 80). "Sane artists," he says, "as a general rule will produce works which are so-called realistic," and "artists unhealthily emotional" or "hysterical, neurasthenic, and degenerate subjects, and every kind of lunatic" will produce "works so-called idealistic." The claim that "artistic activity is the highest of which the human mind is capable" makes him furious. "Why?" he says. "Because the amount of artistic technique involved is difficult? If that is to be the decisive point, then, to be logical, the Æsthetes must place the acrobat higher

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than the artist of their species, since it is much more difficult to learn the art of the trapezist than the rhyming and daubing which constitutes the 'art' of the Æsthetes." The "monarchical state" is "atavistic" when it gives the highest place to the soldier, but it is very right when it gives the next highest to the scholar who we are triumphantly told, "as professor, academician, counsellor, is a constituent part of the governmental machine, and honors and dignities fall far more to his lot than to the poet and artist." It is true that "even persons of good and serious minds" place some artists "on a level with, or even above, the man of science," but this is because "art is equally a source of knowledge" (p. 333). Finally, he prophesies in this way: "It is fair to conclude that after some centuries art and poetry will have become pure atavisms, and will no longer be cultivated, except by the most emotional portion of humanity —by women, by the young, perhaps even by children" (p. 543). If his arguments would prove all art a disease so much the worse for art—"that would still prove nothing against the correctness of his critical method" (p. 552), and he would "raise no objection to this conclusion" (p. 553). And he has the objector on the hip, for if you chance to admire anything "the madness of which is at the first glance apparent to every rational being" (*i. e.* to the author), you are as mad as the artist you admire. The unanswerable argument, the key to the whole book and to the author's state of mind, is to be found on page 123. "We find in every lunatic and imbecile the conviction that the rational minds who discern and judge him are blockheads.'"

What can one answer to a champion thus armed in triple brass? There is nothing for it but to turn his statement end for end and see how it reads. "We find in every blockhead the conviction that the artist whom he cannot understand is a lunatic or an imbecile." Is it not as convincing so? What "diagnosis" Mr. Nordau would make of another who showed such "stigmata" as his own we need not guess. To me his symptoms are easily read. Abusiveness, arrogance, inaccuracy, inconsistency, lack of humor, insensibility to art, what are all these but the signs of Philistinism? In his preface he extols his own courage, saying, "I have no doubt as to the consequences to myself of my initiative." To attack the Church or the State is "nothing venturesome. . . . But grievous is the fate of him who has the

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audacity to characterize æsthetic fashions as forms of mental decay." Pshaw! my dear sir, you are fighting in the safest and most popular of causes. It may be true that the "author or artist attacked," with not unnatural asperity, "never pardons a man for recognizing in him a lunatic or a charlatan." But who cares what *he* thinks? "The great majority of the middle and lower classes" are with you. If any one speaks for the poor devil, call *him* a lunatic too and the trick is done. Your predecessor is thus mentioned in the First Book of Samuel:

"And there went out a champion out of the camp of the Philistines, named Goliath, of Gath, whose height was six cubits and a span. And he had an helmet of brass upon his head, and he was armed with a coat of mail; and the weight of the coat was five thousand shekels of brass. And he had greaves of brass upon his legs, and a target of brass between his shoulders. . . . And he stood and cried . . . Am not I a Philistine?" And there are no Davids now, like the *frondeur* of old, to bring down the giant with a pebble-stone.

KENYON COX.

II.—A MUSICIAN'S RETORT.

BY ANTON SEIDL.

THE reading of Max Nordau's book at first filled me with disgust. As I progressed with it, however, I became convinced that it was not the work of a pessimist, striving to be sensational, but of a man of unbalanced mind, like one of those unfortunates frequently met with in lunatic asylums, who appear while you converse with them to be perfectly rational, but suddenly spring ideas at you that clearly demonstrate that their intellect is unsettled. Such an apparently sane person tells you, with an air of importance and pity, that every inmate of the institution, except himself, is crazy; while he is the craziest of them all.

How greatly distorted the mental faculties of Mr. Nordau are, he betrays on the second page of his scurrilous chapter on Wagner, where, in order to substantiate his silly accusations, he refers to Mr. Praeger's biography of the great musician—a book which, after having been branded by some of our most noted and conscientious critics as a network of ridiculous assertions and

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infamous misrepresentations, was withdrawn from the market by its publishers. But this discredited book, with its false dates, its false quotations, and incomprehensible inferences, is accepted by Mr. Nordau as a trustworthy source of information.

Mr. Nordau proceeds to fable of "dancing and howling dervishes," who, in the *Bayreuther Blaetter*, burn incense before their fetish, Wagner. Every branch of art has its organs for promoting its interests. Wagner also perceived the necessity of speaking to the cultured world, not only by means of his music and his works, but also through the press.

Nordau's short explanation of the principle of Wagner's art might have been written by a caged-up lunatic! Take, for instance, expressions and conclusions such as these: that the architecture of Cologne Cathedral impresses one without the by-work of a dramatic performance; or that the Pastoral Symphony impresses one without explanatory words; or that Faust's depth and beauty can gain nothing by adding music to it.

Well, I believe one can safely say that the grandeur of the architecture of Cologne Cathedral impresses one a thousandfold more when seen during high-mass, when the magnificent edifice is filled with the delicious fumes of incense and resplendent with myriads of lights! Furthermore it is a well-known fact that, in all theatres of high rank, the lack of music during productions of "Faust" was deeply felt, and that was why most of them introduced music during such performances with more or less success. And then if Beethoven in the "Partitur" of his "Pastoral Symphony" had not given a few hints in regard to his ideas or intentions concerning his music, I wonder how many different versions there would now be in existence. Perhaps, for instance, Mr. Nordau might have mistaken the manifestations of rapture on the arrival at the idyllic country-place for the merry bustle in the market-place of a town.

In imitation of Mr. Praeger, Mr. Nordau revels in unintelligible and absurd perversions. He speaks of Schopenhauer as condemning "grand opera," but he avoids mention of the fact that Wagner himself pronounces the so-called "grand opera" to be humbug. Mr. Nordau either deliberately confounds Meyerbeer's "grand opera" with Wagner's musical drama, or he proves himself incompetent to understand or criticise Wagner's works.

This writer upbraids Wagner for his bombastic style of

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writing, and cites a few of Wagner's expressions, which he declares to be incomprehensible. But let us take a glance at Mr. Nordau's own style of writing. How, for instance, is this: "What Wagner takes for evolution (speaking about 'Art-work of the Future') is retrogression, and a return to a primeval human, nay, to a *pre-human stage?*"

It is not to be wondered at that Mr. Nordau, in vieing with Mr. Praeger, sees in all those who occupy themselves with Wagner, who impersonate or sing his characters, who play his music, or read his works, degenerate beings. He even strives to prove, by words patched together, that Wagner was an anarchist! Does not this show that Nordau is ripe for the insane asylum, if only in the capacity of cicerone?

Wagner is declared to be erratic, because he sings ever the praise of woman. What then were Schiller, Goethe, Beethoven and many others who did the same thing?

He speaks further of the shameless sensuality of Wagner's poems and cites Hanslick. A nice fraternity indeed! He vilifies the German public who listened to the first act of "Walkuere" without blushing just as if Parisians, New Yorkers, Londoners and St. Petersburghers, had not become enthusiastic over this musical drama! Nordau, the writer of the book "Degeneration," as preacher of morals!

The elaborations on Wagner's "Redemption" idea are indeed the most rancorous and unreasonable portion of the chapter. Here he brings Mr. Nietsche forward as witness, a man who is known to have been mentally deranged for years. Well, who does not detect in that the action of the lunatic, who shows the unsuspicious visitor about the asylum, telling him that everybody in the institution, doctors included, himself only excepted, is crazy, until the visitor suddenly discovers to his horror a dangerous maniac in his cicerone.

Mr. Nordau's Praegeristic treatment displays itself also in another instance. He cites Nietsche as a competent critic of Wagner's dramatic poetry, but rejects Nietsche as of imbecile judgment in criticizing Wagner the musician. That is called consistency! And Nordau charges Wagner with inconsistency!

All that Nordau prates about Wagner's music proves clearly that he understands it no more than a policeman does the art of casting a bell. It is true there are many others who share this

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stupidity with him; but he is altogether asinine when he declares that one may go to Bayreuth only when one knows all the "leit-motifs" by heart. According to his own confession, he does not know them himself, and yet he sits in judgment on them. This kind of action is more than moral degeneration.

Nordau is seeking the laurels of an Erostratus. There are persons who can accomplish nothing of their own, and these imagine that it may be very lucrative to demolish whatever great and beautiful thing has been created by others, so that attention may be attracted to themselves.

ANTON SEIDL.

III.—AS TO AGE-END LITERATURE.

BY MAYO W. HAZELTINE.

IF the book called *Degeneration*, by Max Nordau, has challenged successfully the attention of cultivated readers in many civilized countries, it is, of course, because he has tried to satisfy a craving of the perplexed public mind by suggesting a cause of certain phenomena, which, in these dying years of the Nineteenth Century, are widespread, patent, and regrettable. Moreover, he has not only propounded a possible cause, but one that is physiological, for which, therefore, the sufferers need not hold themselves morally responsible, and from whose maleficent effect they may hope to recover, when organized society shall have better adjusted itself to the new conditions produced by the multiplex employment of steam and electricity in human affairs. A moment's reflection, however, will demonstrate that this cause is inadequate to account for the effect ascribed to ti. The introduction of the railway, the steamship, the telegraph and the telephone, with the consequent amplification of markets, agglomeration of capital, and intensification of directing intellect, are matters that concern, almost exclusively, the commercial and industrial classes, to which the age-end literature, which Mr. Nordau makes the subject of discussion, never appeals, and by which it is seldom, if ever, read. It cannot be truthfully said that the upper ten thousand, of whom alone, even in France, the author of *Degeneration*, as he confesses, speaks, have been subjected to much, if any, extra cerebral strain through the application of steam and electricity to

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social purposes. As a matter of fact, the brain tissues and nervous system of the affluent, leisurely, or idle class are taxed less than they were a hundred, or even fifty, years ago. Brilliant conversation has gone out of fashion; people send by wire messages which formerly would have been couched in conventional epistles; unlike merchants and manufacturers, whose correspondence is undoubtedly much larger, yet who have not in the least degenerated, the upper ten thousand write fewer letters and shorter ones; and when they read, peruse more newspapers and fewer books. Few persons probably would contend that the scanning of an average newspaper imposes more wear and tear upon the gray matter of the brain than does the digestion of a printed volume. It seems clear, then, that since the class specially addressed by the literature reviewed with so much pungency by Max Nordau cannot be regarded as in any sense the victim of the gradual applications of science during the last half century, we must seek elsewhere for the cause of the literary phenomena characteristic of our day, and by us designated, half sadly and half scoffingly, as *fin de siécle*.

I.

Nothing delights unoccupied persons like the belief that, while commonly misunderstood, they are deeply worthy of being comprehended; and nothing pleases the idle class at any given epoch like the assurance that they have been placed by circumstances in a unique position, strangely agitated and profoundly interesting. Alive to this fact, and determined to produce a popular book, Mr. Nordau studiously refrained from doing what he was of course fully competent to do, namely, pointing out that there is nothing new in the attitude of certain morbid outgrowths of our age-end literature toward religion and morality; that the phenomenon, instead of being unique, is periodic, and, in truth, familiar to even the casual student of history. It is a phenomenon inseparable from a widely prevalent decay of faith. It was characteristic of the first century of our era throughout the Mediterranean world, and conspicuously in the city of Rome; it was recognizable during the last half of the twelfth century in all countries using the Provençal tongue; it was observed and denounced in Italy, where, in the first half of the sixteenth century, the Renaissance became decadent; it was not only visible

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but intrusive and obnoxious in France when the *ancien régime* was moribund. The Latin literature that glorified the indulgence of the senses and acknowledged no subordination of pleasure to duty, the literature that began with Catullus and Ovid, and that reached perhaps its lowest depth in Petronius Arbiter, bore unconscious but conclusive witness to the fact that belief in the old Roman and Greek gods was dead, and that the conversion of Constantine to the religion preached by the disciples of Jesus was yet distant. The songs of the Provençal troubadours and the fundamental rules of life laid down by the courts of love, whereof the minstrels were the inspirers and reporters, if not the lawgivers, testify to the inoculation of Christianity with infidel and Manichæan tenets, and to a pervasive corruption, so far as the higher orders were concerned, which probably has not been equalled since the groves of Daphne were closed at Antioch. What shall one say of the literature of renascent Italy from the time of Boccaccio to the the purification and regeneration of Catholicism under the successors of Leo X? It was an epoch during which even Popes were accused of being free-thinkers, while artists and nobles were to a very large extent infected with the suspicion, if not conviction, that an overruling Providence and a life beyond the grave were fables. That part of the work produced by Italian men of letters in the Renaissance which is still current is sufficiently tainted, but there was another part which has been long since veiled from sight and buried in the crypts of libraries. Products of a decline of faith, those books betrayed the tendency, as yet unavowed if not unconscious, of a materialistic and egoistic philosophy to divorce art entirely from altruistic ethics. If now we pass to the last half century of the *ancien régime* in France, we find the skepticism of the upper classes regarding duties to God reflected in the writings of Voltaire, and their disregard of duties and decencies toward fellow beings mirrored in scores of novels, from the artistic though immoral pages of the Abbé Prévost to the salacious narratives of Crébillon Fils, Louvet and the Marquis de Sade, by the side of which the ruthless self-dissection of Rousseau seems sane, robust and wholesome.

II.

THUS we see that Nordau's book, striking as it is, is but another example of the maxim that there is nothing new under

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the sun. Godlessness and vice are as old as Sodom, and if the cities of the plain possessed a literature, and it were extant, we should undoubtedly find in it a warrant for their holocaust. It is plain enough that all the previous outbreaks of viciousness in literature were not ascribable to physical degeneration ; were not due to any physiological or social, much less mechanical agency, but should be attributed, simply and purely, to a moral cause. It is probable that the world never saw a more tremendous transformation of man's social energies than took place in the countries bordering the Mediterranean under the benignant influence of the Roman peace. Not to this surely can be imputed the abhorrent influx of impiety, malevolence and lubricity, which cursed the realm of the Cæsars during the first century of our era. To what can we reasonably charge it but to the fact that the minds of men, no longer preoccupied with war, were awakened to the disappearance of their ancient religious beliefs under the corrosive impact of the Attic schools of philosophy, and especially of the school which found in Lucretius an eloquent expounder ? So, too, with the rotten-ripeness of the Provençal-speaking countries towards the close of the twelfth century ; this is not traceable, though it has been traced, to the lucrative position of those lands in the track of the onset of the Western nations against the Saracens in Palestine. No doubt, the Provençals derived wealth and luxury from their geographical situation, but the moral disintegration detected in their literature came from contact with the Oriental ideas brought back by the Crusaders, or transmitted through Saracenic Spain, and which obscured the distinction between good and evil, and obliterated the belief in God and immortality. Again, the epoch of the Renaissance underwent a mechanical influence, comparable for diffusion and magnitude to that of steam and electricity ; we refer, of course, to that exercised by the invention of printing. It would be preposterous, however, to charge the immorality of that age, so conspicuous in its literature, to the use of movable types. The mischievous agency was the absorption of pagan ideas through a sudden and indiscriminate revival of learning. We note, finally, that throughout a large part of the eighteenth century the physical and intellectual energies of France were subjected to the exhausting strain of the duel with England for ascendancy in the New World and in India ; yet of the severe cerebral tension

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wrought by the national hunger for political and territorial aggrandizement we find scarcely a sign in contemporary French literature. What exudes from it at every pore is the contempt for religion and traditional morality which must have begun to permeate society before it found exemplars and promoters in Voltaire and the Encyclopedists.

As regards the power of accommodating itself to mere changes of physical or social environment, mankind is still young and vigorous. From this point of view, at all events, the race shows no sign of decrepitude. There is not a jot of evidence that now, or ever, have men failed to adjust swiftly to their cerebral capacity the innumerable applications of the conquests over nature's forces which they themselves have made. It is not the mind, but the heart, that at certain conjunctures wavers. At these crises, when the old religions that aimed to regulate the attitude of man to his Maker, and that gave a sanction and an incentive to right conduct, seem shaken or undermined, the struggle between selfishness and self-sacrifice recurs under conditions trying to all except the sanest and the sweetest natures, and to those, happily the vast majority, who are nailed to altruistic habits by the rivets of hard, daily toil. It is through a crisis of that kind that we are now passing. The rich and cultivated class, to which, mainly, the makers of poetry and artistic fiction address themselves, has as yet failed to put the new wine of science into the old bottles of faith; it has succeeded but imperfectly in absorbing and assimilating Darwinism and the evolutionary philosophy; and it has thus far miscarried in the attempt to adjust and reconcile the teachings of the physicists to the traditional beliefs concerning the relation of man to the Deity and his duty to his fellow-creatures. Especially was such a miscarriage to be looked for in France, which had never fully extirpated the skepticism and cynicism with which it had been saturated in the eighteenth century. It will not seem strange that the work of adaptation and accommodation should have been everywhere slow, tentative, and hitherto unfruitful on the part of the upper ten thousand, whom Nordau has in mind, when we recall that the weakest part of Mr. Herbert Spencer's monumental work, the *Synthetic Philosophy*, is admitted to be the Data of Ethics. When the minds of well educated persons are in a state of fluctuation and unrest, of doubt drifting to despair

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or to indifference; when not only the fool saith in his heart "There is no God," but the wise man presumes not to rebuke his folly; it is not suprising that lyrical and epical compositions—the novel is, of course, the modern epic—should evince a like recklessness and license, and be spotted all over with signs of divagation from standards of morality once accepted, and even from former canons of taste. This end-of-the-century outgush, however, of impiety and vice in literature, differs from similar antecedent phenomena in this, that in our day the principal transgressors of moral laws in artistic writing seek to justify themselves by a philosophic axiom, whereby a multitude of readers, naturally cleanly and even squeamish, have allowed themselves to be imposed upon. We allude to the axiom of "art for art's sake," the theory that art has nothing to do with morals, a dogma formulated by Kant and Lessing, but debased to uses which it would have given them a nightmare to foresee, by the long and loathsome series of æsthetes, decadents and diabolists.

III.

MAX NORDAU himself seems beset with a misgiving lest the corner-stone of his book, the assumption of physical degeneration, affecting the higher classes and their literary purveyors, if not the whole body of civilized mankind, should prove to be unsound. Accordingly he puts forward a secondary explanation of the indisputable fact that literature glaringly immoral is now much more widely circulated, if not any more respectably championed, than it was in the preceding periods named. He very properly ascribes the fact, partly to the multiplication of readers and the greatly improved facilities for publication, but largely also to the currency of the dogma above mentioned, the dogma of art for art. The chapters in which he attacks this axiom are the strongest and most admirable portions of his brilliant book. He does not, indeed, attempt to treat fully of the relation of the beautiful to morals, for he perceives that, to do this, it would be needful to expound the whole science of æsthetics. Yet he demonstrates that art is not practised for itself alone, but that it has a double aim, subjective and objective, to wit, first, the satisfaction of an organic want of the artist, and, secondly, the influencing of his fellow-creatures. It follows that to art are applicable the principles by which every other human activity, pursuing the

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same ends, is judged, *i. e.*, the principles of law and of morality. We are reminded that the Middle Ages had places of sanctuary, where criminals could not be molested for their misdemeanors. Modern law has done away with this institution, and ought art to be at present the only asylum to which criminals may fly with a prospect of escaping punishment? Shall they be suffered to satisfy in the so-called "temple" of art, instincts which the policeman prevents them from appeasing in the street? Passing over what is said regarding painting and sculpture, with which we are here not specially concerned, we note that a sharp distinction is drawn between poetry and prose-fiction on the one hand, and the pictorial and plastic arts on the other. The oral or written word can hardly in itself produce an effect of sensuous beauty by its auditory or visual image, even if it presents itself rhythmically regulated and rendered musical by the tinkling of rhyme. It must operate almost solely by its content, by the thoughts or emotions it communicates. In the case of words, therefore, the impression can no longer be a composite one, partly pleasing, partly unpleasing, as at the sight of a finely painted representation of a repulsive incident; the effect of such an incident, verbally described, must be purely disagreeable. The unconscientious and non-tragical, or falsely tragical, portrayals of vice and crime in literature have no doubt their public, the public of the gaols; but a healthy mind feels itself violently repelled by works of this kind, and finds itself incapable of receiving an æsthetic impression from them, be their form never so conformable to the approved rules of art. Everything depends, however, upon a writer's point of view, and on the emotions with which he regards his subject, and which the reader is intended to share. When a work betrays indifference on the author's part to the evil or ugliness depicted; nay betrays, even a predilection for it; then the abhorrence provoked by the composition is intensified by all the disgust which the author's aberration of instinct excites in us. It is far otherwise when a poem or a novel allows us to recognize the upright moral purpose of an author, and reveals to us his well-directed sympathetic emotion. The effect of such writings, whatever their theme, is cleansing, invigorating, ennobling. No honest man or woman, for instance, can doubt the morality of the author's emotions and intentions, when he reads the murder scene in Dostoïevsky's "Raskolnikoff," or watches the disastrous entangle-

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ments that form the pivots of Mr. Hardy's "Tess of the D'Urbervilles," of Mr. Caine's "Manxman," and of the singularly pathetic story lately published in this country, "Poppaea," by Julien Gordon. Novels written in this high-minded way fulfill in their relatively modest fashion the conditions which Aristotle laid down for the composition of tragedies. No matter, so he thought, how deplorable the incident selected for a subject, provided it be so treated as thoroughly to purge the passions by a touching or appalling example; provided, in other words, the wholesome emotions of fear and pity be excited; dread of the doom of the evil-doer, compassion for the victim of misfortune, pity for those who err. It is creditable to Mr. Nordau that he carefully discriminates between works of fiction written in this exemplary spirit, and those which evince on the author's part a callous indifference, or a morbid attraction, to the derelictions portrayed.

IV.

It seems evident that the phase through which literature is passing in these closing years of the century is transitory, like the unsettled state of the public conscience which it reflects. We must put a stop to the invasion of books and newspapers by diabolists, and to the intrusion of anarchists in politics, or organized human society must cease to exist. The natural presumption that in such a crisis the social system will contrive to right itself and purge itself by a violent reaction is confirmed by the observation of what has uniformly happened at similar conjunctures in the past. It is plain, for instance, that the Roman commonwealth must have collapsed prematurely from moral gangrene and social incoherence had the views and lives of the ruling class remained what they had been from the accession of Tiberius to the death of Domitian. But Rome had still a mission to fulfill, and felt an irresistible impulse to moral rehabilitation. In the place of the old ethical standards and religious sanctions then contemned, her citizens sought new ones, and found them in the Stoic philosophy, based as it was on the idea of universal law in nature and of ever-binding duty among men. The consequent regeneration of the State is disclosed not only in the amendments of the civil law respecting slavery, and in the writings of Marcus Aurelius, but also in the exquisitely idealized tale of Psyche, so oddly inserted in a narrative, which,

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as regards the prevailing moral tone, might have been penned by a Paris decadent of our own day. So, too, at the beginning of the thirteenth century, the heart and conscience of Western Europe perceived that the Church and civil society were alike imperilled by the carnival of lust and blasphemy enacted in the Provençal-speaking lands; and to them, accordingly, was applied the rough, but needful, surgery of the Albigensian Crusade. Thenceforward the troubadours ceased to sing; but men lost nothing from restriction to the relatively pure and high ideals embodied by trouvéres and minnesingers in such epics as the "Song of Roland," the "Niebelungen Lied," and the "Morte d'Arthur." Still more familiar is the tremendous internal reform of Catholicism in the last half of the sixteenth century, a reform to which no intelligent Protestant denies that the Society of Jesus most signally contributed. That impressive upburst toward regeneration found a literary type in Tasso, who chose a crusade for the subject of his "Jerusalem Delivered," and infused religious fervor into the conception of his hero. Then, again, amid the waning days of the French *ancien régime*, and while Voltaire and the Encyclopedists were the dictators of opinion, the necessity of discovering a substitute for the faith overthrown became patent to Rousseau, who turned gropingly to nature for laws that she has never promulgated, and strove to deduce the rights of man from the status of an imaginary tenant of an Arcadian dreamland. We need only recur in passing to the subsequent vehement recoil of, at least, a part of the French people from the impiety and vice which had whelmed the revolutionary epoch, a recoil disclosed in the philosophical, historical, and controversial writings of De Maistre, Joubert, Lamennais, and Montalembert, and no less clearly in the artistic compositions of Chateaubriand and Lamartine.

Thus we see that at every preceding period more or less analagous to ours, the decay of faith and the resultant relaxation of all moral ties—a decay and relaxation always reflected in the contemporary literature—have sooner or later roused men to the consciousness of a grave social danger, and awakened them to the fact that the concepts of altruistic ethics lie at the root of all humane civilization. If the old sanctions of duty and unselfishness cannot be re-established, new and effective ones must be secured or no organized society of a benign and lofty type can stand. Mr.

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Nordau's book is itself a symptom of the wide-spread indignation and disgust which precede a purifying and a hygienic reaction. Nor are there lacking other signs no less unmistakable, nay, perhaps, much more significant. We refer to the somewhat cold and dry, but lucid, exact and cogent criticism of M. Brunetière, who if he does not entirely repudiate for France the doctrine of art for art's sake, exposes to scorn and ridicule its extravagant, vagrant and disgraceful applications. And what but a good omen can we read in the almost simultaneous publication of such books as those of Mr. Benjamin Kidd, of Prof. Henry Drummond and Mr. A. J. Balfour, in which the fundamental relations to conduct and progress, of science on the one hand and religion on the other, are re-examined from the view-point of the vital necessities of mankind.

There is ground for hope, if not for belief, that the twentieth century will witness a bracing revival of idealism, or at least of an eclectic realism that will differ from it only in name. When Mr. Nordau, with so much ingenuity, and with such undeniable breadth of culture, strives to find in physical regeneration the remedy for the lamentable divagations of our age-end literature, whereas the cure is only to be found in a change of spiritual conditions, he reminds one of the mediæval pilgrims who

> "went so far to seek
> In Golgotha Him dead that lives in Heaven."

M. W. HAZELTINE.

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NOTES AND COMMENTS.

THE MODERN WOMAN AND MARRIAGE.

CRITICISM of the marriage relation is in the air.

The stage concerns itself almost exclusively with that topic for the moment, Ibsen having struck the key to which all the playwrights are pitching their chorus of echo. Every book-stall is heavy with similar discussions in dialogue, carried on by the puppets of fiction.

In what has all this turmoil had its origin; what is the significance of this criticism; and what is the general attitude of woman towards the matter?

Howells, with only humorous apology, admits of his sex that "after 1,800 years man is only imperfectly monogamous."

That even this imperfect measure of self-denial and fidelity has been reached is almost solely due to the untiring effort of the woman of the past.

The root of family life is not mutual affection between man and woman, because that, alas!—whether it be founded on physical attraction or mental affinity—is subject to change. Age withers, and custom stales it: circumstance blights it, a diversity of spiritual growth rends it apart, and no man or woman can say with certainty that it will endure for a life-time. But the fluctuations to which wedded love is subject are unknown to the abnegating instinct of parenthood. Mutual affection for the offspring will hold together the most opposite natures; it will rivet for all existence two lives that must otherwise inevitably spring asunder by instinctive repulsion.

Love of offspring is in man a cultivated emotion; in woman an instinct. There are women lacking the instinct as there are calves born with two heads, but for purposes of generalization these exceptions may be ignored. In many of the lower orders of life the female is obliged to protect the young from the enmity of the male parent. The alligator finds no meal so refreshing as a light lunch off his newly hatched children, and the male swine shares his epicurean taste for tender offspring. The stallion is a dangerous companion for the mare with colt at foot, though it be of his own get, and many species of males appear to experience a similar jealousy of the young while absorbing the attentions of the female. Speaking generally of the animal world the young are obliged to look to the mother entirely for food and care during the period of helplessness. With savage man of the lower grade the paternal instinct is still faint and rudimentary, and even where the woman has, through long ages of endeavor, succeeded in cultivating in the heart of the other parent a fair imitation of her own affection, this affection being a cultivated emotion and not an instinct, frequently breaks down under stress of misbehavior or frowardness on the part of the child.

To this end then—that end "toward which the whole creation moves"—

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to effect this result of an equal care and affection for the offspring, all the energies of women have been bent for ages.

She has fought polygamy with incessant hatred; not only for its injury to herself but for its constant menace to her children. The secret strings of the woman's heart are wrapped about the fruit of her own flesh, but the desire of the man is to the woman, and this desire she has used as a lever to work her will—not consciously, perhaps, not with reasoned forethought, but with the iron tenacity of blind instinct. Reasoned will may be baffled or deflected, but water can by no means be induced to run up hill; and so while woman has been apparently as fluidly yielding as water—to be led here and driven there according to the will of her master—she has stuck to her own ends with a silent persistency that has always tired out opposition at last. She has, like Charity, suffered all things, endured all things; she has been all things to all men. She has yielded all outward show of authority; she has submitted to be scoffed at as an inferior creation, to be sneered at for feebleness and shallow-mindedness, to be laughed at for chattering inconsequence, and to be regarded as a toy and trifle to amuse man's leisure hours, or as a dull drudge for his convenience, for ends are not achieved by talking about them. All the ages of masculine discussion of the Eternal Feminine show no reply from her, but to-day the world is a woman's world. Civilization has, under the unrelaxing pressure of endless generations of her persistent will, been bent to her ends. Polygamy is routed, and the errant fancy of the male tamed to yield itself to a single yoke. She has "with bare and bloody feet climbed the steep road of wide empire," but to-day she stands at the top—mistress of the world. Man, with his talents, his strength, and his selfishness, has been tamed to her hand. The sensual, dominant brute with whom she began what Max Nordau calls "the toilsome, slow ascent of the long curve leading up to civilization," stands beside her to-day, hat in hand, her lover—husband; tender, faithful, courteous, and indulgent.

This is the conquest that has been made, the crown and throne achieved by the silent, uneducated woman of the past.

Monogamous marriage is the foundation stone on which has been built her power; a power which, while it has enured to her own benefit, has not been exercised for selfish ends. She has raised the relation between man and herself from a mere contract of sensuality or convenience to a spiritual sacrament within whose limits the purest and most exalted of human emotions find play. For the coarse indulgence and bitter enmities of polygamy has been substituted the happiest of bonds, in which the higher natures find room for the subtlest and completest felicities, and within which the man, the woman and the child form a holy trinity of mutual love and well-being.

To this jewel, so hardly won, so long toiled for, it would be natural to suppose that woman would cling with all the force of her nature; all the more as education broadened her capacity for reflection and deepened her consciousness of self. On the contrary, the little learning she has so far acquired seems, as usual, a dangerous thing, and with the development of self-consciousness the keen, unerring *flair* of her instinct for the one thing needful has been blunted and enfeebled. It is not necessary to give undue weight to the blatant and empty-headed crew who announce marriage to be a failure, and that women are tired of, and will no longer submit to, child-bearing. There are crowing hens in all barnyards, and their loud antics

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never materially affect the supply of eggs—but there are other voices more potent and more threatening than these.

A certain class of optimists always pooh-pooh suggestions of possible change, or danger to an existing comfortable state of things, and these will refuse to admit that the modern woman may be risking anything serious, or turning her feet in the wrong direction. But those sensitive to feel and observant to note the mind of their generation will be aware that it is not only the half-baked, shrieking sisterhood who decry the result of so much patient endeavor and self-sacrifice. The theory that marriage is a heavy bond, cramping the capacities of the sex, appears in the most unexpected quarters, held by women of ability and education. That loud cry for "the development of her individuality"—only a euphemistic phrase for the cruel and profligate modern creed, "Every thing pleasant is yours by right: you have no duties"—has an ever increasing chorus of applause among women.

Wonderful, that while knowledge comes, wisdom lingers. Wonderful, that what women have suffered so long to win, once won they should cease to prize; that education should not teach woman that man was by nature very far removed from the gentle domestic animal she knows to-day. However the modern woman may swagger about her individuality, may talk of her "spiritual needs," and deplore the stupid tyranny of man who demands sacrifices from her in return for his tenderness, protection and support, the *fact* is not changed, that however much she may be man's intellectual equal, or spiritual superior, the exigencies of motherhood put her at his mercy. She can not be entirely self-dependent except at the cost of the welfare of the offspring. The Factory Acts are a recognition of the right of the child to its mother's health and vitality. Woman simply may not eat her cake and have it too. Using all her energies for her own needs she can not give vigor to her children. If she employ for her own ends her store of life she robs the child. To adequately supply the new generation with health, brains and nerve force she must husband her resources and yield herself to the generosity and tenderness of the man and trust to his care. That he has not always been generous and tender, that he is not always so even now, does not alter the general fact.

This enmity to and destructive criticism of that fair temple of life called marriage—built by women's hands out of women's hearts—seems like a madness. If women pluck down its shrines, man will not be long in refusing to worship there. There might be something, perhaps, to admire in the self-denial and courage of a sex which should say: "We will destroy even this holy sanctuary, built by the ages, in which we are honored priestesses, which contains all our luxuries, our securities, all our comforts; we will go out and face the world and toil like the rest, only that we may be free!" if it were not that women are not and never can be free. They are all under bonds to the new generation.

If she were alone, she might choose to make herself homeless—but how of the little children?

ELIZABETH BISLAND.

POOR CITY BOYS IN THE COUNTRY.

THE average poor city boy thinks of the country as a place where he can do with the fullest freedom what he best likes to do in the city—more specifically as a place where he can play all the ball he pleases, as he pleases,

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without being "pinched by the cops." That he can do other things, quite different from those he does in the city, does not occur to him.

For two successive years I have spent ten days in the country with a party of about a dozen such boys (ages twelve to fifteen), and I have been surprised beyond measure at their surprise in lighting upon such pastimes as climbing trees, swinging on birches, going barefoot, driving and riding on horses, berrying, nutting, graping, frogging, snaring, hunting, tumbling on the hay in the loft and field, exploring the courses of brooks, collecting insects, minerals, birds' nests and eggs, gathering sweet fern, making whistles, cucumber boats and jack-'o-lanterns, and the thousand and one other things which the country boy regards as an essential part of life.

Staying in the country develops much the same ability in the city boy as foreign travel does in the adult, namely that of taking a new point of view, of understanding and sympathizing with an entirely new kind of life. It takes time, however, to get to see things in their right relations. At first everything is condemned that differs in the slightest detail from city usage. Fishing, swimming and rowing in fresh water, though indulged in readily enough, are spoken of with contempt. The absence of theaters, electric cars, candy stores, tobacco stores, peanut stands and the daily papers (prized for their news of regattas, races, baseball games and boxing matches) is bitterly deplored. Even the pageantry of funerals is missed. "How many hacks be they at funerals out here?" inquired one of the brightest of my boys, and his fine scorn on being told that there were none, because the farmers used their own teams, was worth going very far to see. "Teams for hacks!" was all he said, but there were volumes in his voice. Fresh air at night is so new and eerie a thing that the boys keep every window shut in the hottest weather rather than breathe it. They get homesick with the windows open. They are as little able to appreciate fresh vegetables, and have a comical abhorrence of milk just from the cow.

Their terror of the dark reaches a point that is almost incredible. They do not dare to walk after sunset, though there be a dozen of them together, for fear of tramps, nor to go to bed without a light for fear of ghosts, "skilligans" they call them. One night, I had to use a hammer, between nine and ten o'clock, to repair a bed in a room under a chamber in which four of the boys were sleeping. The next morning, the four had a harrowing tale to tell of "skilligans" pounding continuously on their door, and every now and then crashing against it with something that sounded like a sledge-hammer.

One boy was curiously timid about drinking well water. He had read a story somewhere of a murdered man's body being discovered in a well from which people were in the habit of drinking. "How 'd yer know this here 's good water? The taste haint no sign," he would say. "Yer can't tell. There might be a dead body in this well, as easy as any other well."

All are powerless to estimate distance. Half a mile on a lonely wood road really seems to them three or four miles, and they flatly refuse to walk as far as they walk every day in the city. It is not that they get physically tired. The lonesome monotony tires them mentally. When they have learned that the sights of a country road are as many and varied as those of a city thoroughfare, it is different with them.

As regards morals, they find it very hard to believe that anything can be wrong where there are no "cops" to inflict punishment.

A sojourn in the country teaches a myriad of facts of natural history, and, because of the zest novelty gives, the city boy in the country comes, in a little

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while, to vie with Whittier's "Barefoot Boy" as a scientist. He has knowledge:

> "Of the wild bee's morning chase,
> Of the wild-flower's time and place;
> Flight of fowl and habitude
> Of the tenants of the wood;
> How the tortoise bears his shell,
> How the wood-chuck digs his cell,
> And the ground-mole sinks his well;
> How the robin feeds her young,
> How the oriole's nest is hung;
> Where the whitest lilies blow,
> Where the freshest berries grow,
> Where the ground-nut trails its vine,
> Where the wood-grape's clusters shine;
> Of the black wasp's cunning way,
> Mason of his walls of clay,
> And the architectural plans
> Of gray hornet artisans."

If this rather discursive knowledge is not recognized as science by the savants it is at least the result of honest laboratory work, and is far more useful to the average individual than better ordered book-conned erudition. If our public schools have left children to believe that milk is made by machinery, that buttercups are the first flowers of spring, that most wild plants are poisonous, that growing Indian corn is the banana, and that the rooster's crow is the bleat of a nanny-goat;* then it is well that the school-curriculum should be supplemented by just such a natural history course as ten days in the country give. The habit of quick, careful observation can in no other way be so easily produced.

Furthermore, this studying of nature sometimes induces a genuine love of nature, that continues a wholesome influence in the life of the boy long after his return to the city. In fact, this love, if fostered, may permanently modify for good, not only his life, but (after marriage) that of his family.

Every charity has its seamy side; some charities have little else. It is true that the charity of sending children into the country affords the "sponges" the most glorious opportunity of the year for begging clothes; that some parents are influenced by it to neglect parental duties through having that done for them which, with a little extra effort, they might do themselves; that others are emboldened by it to insolence, even to asserting that they, in letting their children go into the country, are the parties conferring the favor—a notion only too readily taken up by the children; that once the boys are in the country there is an ideal opportunity for mischief-plotting and bullying; that comparatively good boys may play, eat, and sleep with far rougher boys than they are in the habit of associating with in the city; that all the boys are liable to corruption from association with low farm-help, and to bad treatment at the hands of brutal or stingy farmers and farmers' wives. To a certain extent, all these disagreeable things are inevitable. But they have been minimized by the scrupulous care of certain societies, and they are more than made up for by the educational influence of country life already dwelt on, not to mention the purely physical benefit, which every one recognizes.

ALVAN F. SANBORN.

* All these are actual instances of city children's ignorance.

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HARNESSING THE SUN.

WHEN we sit in front of a coal fire and enjoy its generous warmth, do we realize that the heat and light of the burning coal are really sunshine that has been stored up for ages? Such is the fact. Centuries ago the sun shone on the earth and plants and trees grew, fell and grew again; they were covered by geologic deposits, and acted upon by great heat and pressure, until in the course of years or ages these broad layers of organic matter were transformed into coal. The coal thus represents the work done by the sunshine years ago, and when it is burnt the imprisoned solar energy is loosened again.

Our system of power-production depends upon this presence of energy. But coal is a wasteful source of energy. Even the best engines do not utilize over 10 per cent. of the calculated energy of the heat of coal. And, besides this, it is an inconvenient thing in many ways; it has to be mined, freighted, and stored. Can we not find some more economical way of using the sun's energy?

During the last few years the great progress in electrical science has enabled man to utilize the solar heat in a thriftier way. During its day's work the sun draws up a large amount of water from the oceans and the damp earth. By the action of its rays plant life flourishes, and plants draw from the ground and evaporate into the air large amounts of water. Thus an oak tree of average size, with 700,000 leaves, lifts from the earth into the air about one hundred and twenty-three tons of water during the five months it displays its foliage. This evaporated water, sooner or later, falls as rain, and by the action of gravity begins to flow downward. Thus the great rivers are fed. Round and round incessantly goes the water lifted by the tireless sun to fall when deserted by him, and again to be lifted, and again to fall and run seaward, as long as it may exist upon this earth.

In running downward water produces power, and the utilization of this power by water-wheels is one of the oldest of human ideas. But such a utilization was merely local; it could not be transmitted to a distance, and, as great falling bodies of water were not near large cities, these tremendous sources of power could not be rendered available. But now the Falls of Niagara are being utilized to run immense turbines, and these again to run dynamos, and the current thus produced can be sent by wire to distances which are continually increasing with the improvement of the means for conducting the power.

As the Sun makes no charge for pouring water into the upper end of the Niagara River, wastage of power is less serious than wastage of coal.

Still another opportunity of the same sort is not taken advantage of as yet. The Moon pulls the seas after her until the land stops their motion, and tides are the result. Few have any idea of the amount of power represented by the rise and fall of the tide. Twice a day does this stupendous exhibition of energy take place. But, as it is intermittent, it cannot be utilized as readily as a waterfall. It is not impossible to utilize the ebb of an immence mass of water for four or five feet; on the contrary many mechanical methods have been devised, and dynamos can be run as long as the tide is falling. But how shall the tidefall be made a source of continual power? Can electricity by the use of storage batteries, or in some other way solve the problem? It remains to be seen. Science has harnessed the Sun; now let her bridle the Moon. In this way the man of science will realize Emerson's phrase—"Hitch your wagon to a Star."

PETER TOWNSEND AUSTEN.

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THE SILVER QUESTION IN ANCIENT TIMES.

EXACTLY twenty-four hundred and ninety years ago, a commercial depression very similar to the one we are now suffering from here, existed in Attica; partly the result of a war for the recovery of Salamis, and partly of a series of bad crops. In fact, to prove the cyclical nature of these financial crises, the depression was parallel with ours even in the matter of dates, for it began in '91 and was still existing in '95 (595 B. C., of course, I mean). Just as now, too, fortunes were possessed only by the few, and, still more remarkable, a considerable proportion of this wealth consisted in farm mortgages in the western section of the country, which were held by city residents. So the Athenian capitalist was in much the same position as the Boston or New York capitalist to-day. Nor was the similarity lessened by the fact that in many cases he had foreclosed the mortgages and had become possessed of the land. Terrible as our populist orators portray the condition of our own agriculturist to be, that of his Grecian prototype was far worse in that period of dearth. "He had sunk into an actual slave, and had from time to time been sold and exported." We seem to see, too, a picture as of New England's deserted farm lands. "Many poor creatures had fled away from home, and were supporting themselves by the labor of their hands in foreign countries. Many men who still clung to their little properties could, with pinching, barely keep their heads above water, and in whatever direction they gazed they saw a stone column recording the name of a mortgagee and the amount of a mortgage." This condition of affairs, as was natural, had given birth to a populistic party, called the "Hill party," which advocated the repudiation of outstanding debts and a return to their original owners of all properties that had been foreclosed. Indeed, so radical were their demands that capital was severely agitated, and the value of agricultural holdings suffered a serious decline. Over this divided state, Solon was called to preside, not so much, by reason of any previous evidence of statesmanship as because of a current remark of his, to the effect that the management of affairs could only be just and proper "when everything was even."

Taking the times into consideration, a politician could hardly have hit upon a happier phrase. It satisfied both the rich and the poor, and was as little compromising as the reply of an eminent lady when the propriety of *décolleté* dresses was agitating our own land—that the proper limit of a low-necked dress should be at the bust line. It raised Solon to the archonship, a position which corresponded to our presidency, with the authority of our Supreme Court tacked on as an adjunct.

Though lifted to power by an epigram, Solon was not inclined to descend from it by hasty action. He pondered long and deeply on the situation—so long, in fact, that Phanias, the Lesbian, asserts that he was dealing artfully with both parties—privately promising the poor a division of their lands and the rich a confirmation of their securities. This was a base calumny of the kind to which the politician has been subject in all times and ages, for the wealthy classes were really becoming alarmed at the delay, and the poor furious. At last Solon's mind was made up and summoning his three intimate friends, Conon, Clinias and Hipponicus to a private consultation, he thus addressed them:

"Oh, friends, often a man in public life, while seeking the suffrages of the people, makes promises he finds impracticable of fulfillment when he

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reaches office. True reform is reconciliation of conflicting interests, and he is the safest guide who takes his course midway between the mountain and the plain."

"Which means to say, O, Solon, that to repudiate all debts is to yield everything to the Hill party," said Clinias. "But how about returning the properties already foreclosed to their original owners?"

"That would upset the whole social fabric of Attica," replied Solon.

"And thou intendest to do nothing then?" exclaimed Conon.

Solon stayed him with a gesture. "Nay, my friends, I have thought of a better means of relief—one that will please everyone and that will not disturb the existing order of things. It is, in fact, so great a scheme that I have sent for you to hear it first."

"What wilt thou do, O Solon?" inquired Hipponicus.

"I will reduce the value of the currency twenty-seven per cent," said Solon, "by the admixture of a baser metal. Thus the debts that are now outstanding can be reduced by about one-third of what was borrowed, and the mortgagee receiving mina for mina will have no cause for complaint."

"O Solon, thou hast solved the great enigma!" cried his three friends in admiration.

Solon smiled complacently. "I have little doubt I have inaugurated a new school of finance that will find pupils in all succeeding ages."

"I understand then that the lands shall remain as they now are," observed Clinias meditatively, "and that all debts shall be repaid in minas worth seventy-three instead of one hundred drachmas."

"I have spoken," replied Solon stiffly. "A little alloy will do the business."

"O, Great Law Giver," exclaimed the three together, "thou hast indeed inaugurated a new system, and thy name shall be handed down for future generations to worship."

"A last word," exclaimed Solon. "The decree has not yet been announced. Consider my confidence as sacred."

"Trust us, O Solon; we will keep it in a darkness only equalled by the shades of night." Then the trio hastily withdrew.

"This affair indeed brought upon Solon the greatest trouble he met with," says Plutarch. For his friends, hastening to take advantage of the news, borrowed large sums of money, and therewith purchased all the land that they could lay their hands on. Indeed, to such a price had the fear of populistic legislation reduced the value of agricultural property that they practically cornered the best part of Attica. Afterwards, when the edict was proclaimed, they kept their lands and paid their debts in the debased coin. It was about as neat a transaction as is recorded in history, and even this financiering age can hardly duplicate it. "Solon himself, scarcely escaped the odium of being a party to the transaction," goes on Plutarch, "and his friends ever after went by the name of Chreocopidæ or repudiators." Of a truth history repeats itself.

PLAIN-SPEAKER.

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